HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

NEWSPAPER

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Fond Farewell to Consensus

By BARRY GOLDWATER

President Johnson has had plenty of time to contemplate the ruins of his so-called consensus government, actually the ruins of his own political ambitions, for there never was a real consensus government except in the fevered imagination of his political propaganda corps.

And now even the most shortsighted should also be able to see by the President's personal reaction to his whopping defeat in the congressional elections (the Johnson backlash) that politics always was and always will be his guiding star. Consensus was just a billboard word, a salesman's slogan, a peddler's picture.

Does the President acknowledge that the nation wants to turn away from, or at least seriously review, his so-called "Great Society"? He does not. He simply prepares to see how many arms he can twist to further carry out the very programs which the voters so obviously and so seriously question.

His past programs never did represent anything like a consensus. In most important cases they squeaked by the Congress with margins of less than a dozen votes.

If Lyndon Johnson sent such legislation as the poverty program, the housing department, the rent subsidy, the demonstration cities to this new Congress, these keystones of the Great Planned Society probably would be rejected.

There is nothing wrong with a President squeaking programs past the Congress—most have had to do it. The wrongness here lies in the extreme nature of the legislation put over on all the American people by such slim margins.

The wrongness of this Administration lies in the opportunism with which it has exploited a few congressional votes to make basic changes in the fabric of American life, changes which, if ever, should have been made only with the fullest, most aware consensus of all the people involved.

Instead, by margins sometimes as small as a half-dozen congressional votes, this Administration has moved us farther up the road to socialism (they insist on calling it welfarism) than any other.

These rash and radical poltical pressures have left the new Congress facing an economic mess to which the President still may try to apply direct controls as the only solution.

Congress faces a tangle of welfare programs which have so institutionalized poverty as to make the practice of being poor and on the public dole a legitimate job classification in the eyes of many.

Congress faces a general disrespect for legal process and protection which has been fed, fanned, fueled and fired by this Administration's constant concessions to voting blocs and its persistent refusal to take firm stands against lawbreakers, regardless of political impact.

And yet, bless them, these congressmen can do it all well if they really want to.

To begin with, they can put the Socialist schemes of Lyndon Johnson on a starvation diet. And they can reject any new ones, for they clearly have the strength should the President be so arrogant as to try to slip some new ones past them. And who really doubts that he will?

Meantime, good-by to the phony consensus. And three cheers for a real Congress!

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Human Events Agrees with COPE

At least on one thing. . . .
"The Time to Start for '68 Is Now."

This was the theme of a message COPE sent to its members right after the elections. They're not moping around, licking their wounds. Instead, Labor's political forces have already re-grouped to inflict even bigger wounds on **us** in '68. Johnson heals fast, too. As Barry Goldwater warns above, "who really doubts" that the Administration is going to stop trying to steamroller its Socialistic schemes through Congress? With or without a "consensus."

Conservatives can congratulate themselves for their hard-fought and well-deserved victories (and **Human Events** readers were instrumental in helping to win many of them). But we have to agree with the Liberals. This is not the time to sit back and relax. Now is the time to begin strengthening our victories, so we'll be in a position to **increase** them in '68.

And we can't think of a better way to start than by giving **Human Events** for Christmas—a gift that will keep your friends informed and stir them to action during the entire session of the new 90th Congress.

Use the handy order form on page 16 to put the **conservative** steamroller into action for '68.

Yours faithfully,
The Editors

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Gov.-elect Ronald Reagan's smashing victory not only added three GOP congressmen and swept in Republican state officials, but enabled the GOP to make significant gains in the state legislature. The Democrats, who formerly held a 25-to-13 edge in the state senate, with two vacancies, now hold only a 21-to-19 majority. The old assembly consisted of 49 Democrats and 31 Republicans. The new one: 42 Democrats and 38 Republicans.

● With support springing up around the country, it looks as though Reagan may control as many as 250 delegates to the 1968 Republican National Convention, even if he, himself, is not a candidate.

● British citizen Felix Greene, a pro-Communist pamphleteer who has permanent resident status in the United States, has announced he is applying for U.S. citizenship. Greene has been one of Ho Chi Minh's leading spear carriers in the United States.

● Bobby Kennedy is now engaged in a calculated campaign to soften his abrasive image. "The toughness is seldom flashed in public these days," said the New York **Times**, "but it is still there. While campaigning last month in California, the senator learned a reporter was writing a story he didn't like. He sought out the reporter and accused him of 'sensationalism' in front of 20 other reporters. Then he had an aide telephone the paper's editor to complain."

● Vladimir Dedijer, Tito's friendly biographer, is chairman of the self-styled International War Crimes Tribunal, which has plans next spring to indict the United States for alleged crimes in Viet Nam. Most members of the "tribunal" have already pronounced the United States "guilty."

● North Carolina Republicans not only defeated the veteran Rep. Harold Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, but scored impressive gains on the state level. They elected 26 of the 120 state representatives and seven of the 50 state senators. (In 1964 the GOP elected only one senator and 14 representatives.) Among the Democrats defeated in legislative contests were Dr. Henry W. Jordan, brother of Sen. B. Everett Jordan, and Bert Bennett, former Democratic state chairman.

● In the wake of recent elections, the National Right-to-Work Committee thinks new steam is building up behind a series of state campaigns to prohibit compulsory unionism. Next place where a right-to-work law might pass: Oklahoma.

● Dr. Arthur Flemming, president of the University of Oregon and a former secretary of health, education and welfare, will be nominated as president of the National Council of Churches at its General Assembly in Miami Beach, December 4-9. The NCC's nominating committee will present only Dr. Flemming's name to the assembly, according to the Religious News Service. Nomination is tantamount to election, the service added.

● How goes socialism in Great Britain? **Diplomatist**, the trade paper of senior English diplomats, suggests a police state is emerging because of the tangle of restrictions and compulsions imposed by the Labor government.

● House GOP whip Leslie Arends predicts that the old coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats will again control Congress (see chart on page 12). The veteran lawmaker said such Administration programs as the "War on Poverty," rent subsidies and the Teachers' Corps face extinction. "All of these programs become inoperative unless Congress appropriates the money," he noted.

● Kentucky Republicans are optimistic about their chances of electing a governor in 1967 for the first time in more than two decades. Leading possibilities for the GOP nomination include Louie B. Nunn, who came within 13,000 votes of winning the governor's office in 1963, and Jefferson County (Louisville) Judge Marlow W. Cook. Nunn is considered a conservative, Cook a "moderate" Republican. Democrats are expected to be badly split, with five major candidates already in the race to succeed Gov. Edward T. Breathitt. Republican optimism about 1968 is prompted by the fact that the GOP gained control of the Kentucky delegation to Congress for the first time since Herbert Hoover led the party to victory in 1928. The GOP picked up two seats in Congress and re-elected Sen. John Sherman Cooper and Rep. Tim Lee Carter. Since the other Senate seat is also held by a Republican, Thruston Morton, this gives the GOP five of the state's nine seats in Congress.

● Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the Communist candidate who received only 3,000 votes out of 118,000 cast in New York's 12th Congressional District (part of Brooklyn), has hailed his vote-getting powers as "remarkable." These 3,000, said Aptheker, represent a "tremendously conscious mass of voters."

● Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) fears a move will be made to deny him his seat in the 90th Congress, which convenes in January. Sources close to the Harlem congressman, who is facing a criminal contempt jail sentence, say Rep. Sam Gibbons (D.-Fla.) is spearheading the anti-Powell campaign. Gibbons, a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, led the successful revolt in September that stripped Powell of many of his powers as committee chairman. The U.S. Constitution, of course, states that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

● Now it seems to be Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz who is pushing for some form of compulsory service for every American citizen. Wirtz, talking up the Administration line that there must be a radical change in the draft, suggested last week that every person who reaches 18 must register with a national "opportunity board" in his local community and that the community then provide every youth not in the military two years of further education, job training, a job or service in a community program.

● The American Civil Liberties Union has urged colleges across the nation to resist future subpoenas by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of membership lists of campus groups opposed to U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

● U.N. Secretary General U Thant continues to press for his solution to end the war in Viet Nam: He has again asked the United States to permanently stop the northern bombing without getting any concessions in return.

● The nation's top urban renewal official acknowledged recently that the program has "failed" in many communities by razing homes for commercial development and neglecting the residential needs of the people. "We have made mistakes," said Don Hummell, assistant secretary for renewal and housing assistance.

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Where Does Romney Stand?

The returns were barely in November 8 when much of the liberal Eastern press—no friend of the Republican party—had already begun telling the GOP whom it should run in 1968. Predictably, it turned out to be Michigan's Gov. George Romney.

The Washington *Post* has been heralding Romney as the "clear front-runner"; Ripon-type Republican Roscoe Drummond puts himself squarely in the governor's corner; ditto for Doris Fleeson, a liberal Democrat married to Truman's secretary of the navy. Jack Anderson, Drew Pearson's sidekick and a Mormon like Romney, has put in a plug for the former head of American Motors.

And it is clear, also, that Romney is for Romney. While dutifully denying he has any plans to be the GOP nominee, the signs of a Romney presidential nominating campaign are already surfacing.

In Michigan, a brain trust headed by 44-year-old ex-Congressman Robert J. McIntosh and Richard Van Deusen, a Detroit lawyer, has been rounding up support for Romney. Following his re-election victory, the governor rushed to Washington for coveted national exposure on Lawrence Spivak's "Meet the Press" TV interview program. During the same trip, Romney met secretly with a group of advisers, including Leonard Hall, GOP national chairman under Eisenhower; Robert Carter, a Colorado executive of Continental Airlines and a former aide to Hall; Max Fisher, 58, millionaire head of the United Jewish Appeal; and motel magnate J. Willard Marriott, an old friend of Romney's and a fellow Mormon.

The meeting got around to analyzing the degelate situation state by state and Hall, according to *Newsweek,* "bubbled over Romney's chances to sweep the state delegations in the East and Midwest."

Yet other knowledgeable politicos, and those who care more for the future of the GOP than the liberal press, have been less enthusiastic toward Michigan's golden boy. These party pros feel that Romney, despite his impressive win and his photogenic appeal, still has to prove he has the qualities to be a presidential candidate.

Former Sen. Barry Goldwater has pointed to some obvious drawbacks to the "Romney is inevitable" argument. The Michigan governor, Goldwater noted on *Issues and Answers,* won a handsome 61 per cent of the vote in the Wolverine State, but he was not the only Republican who won big. So did Gov. Rhodes of Ohio, who came out of the election with an even higher percentage of the vote and carried more Republicans into office than Romney.

Gov. Romney (left) is going to have to clarify some of his positions, according to Barry Goldwater.

If the GOP is looking for "coattail appeal," said Goldwater, "I'll get parochial now, and mention the fact that Governor-elect Jack Williams of Arizona carried the House and the Senate for the first time in the hundred-year history of the state and carried every elected office but one. . . . "

Goldwater also pointed out that the public really doesn't know where Romney stands on many important issues of the day. Only recently, he noted, has he even begun to state, unequivocally, that he is a Republican.

"We don't know where he stands on Viet Nam. He has yet to take an unequivocal stand as to whether we should or should not escalate, whether or not he is behind the President or opposed to the President, so the man has to develop. . . ."

(The Washington *Evening Star,* a stout supporter of liberal Republicans, surprisingly sided editorially with Goldwater's assessment. Stating that Goldwater had "hit the nail on the head" with his comments, the *Star* went on to say: "As a presidential candidate, Romney must clarify his position on the major issues, domestic and foreign. . . . Being a Super Eagle Scout is simply not enough.")

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Where, in fact, does Romney stand on the issues? It's hard to say. He is, obviously, not sure of his political affiliations:

The Dec. 5, 1958, Detroit *News,* for example, quotes Romney as saying, "I am neither a Republican or a Democrat." On Jan. 30, 1960, the Detroit *Free Press* quotes Romney as saying: "I am not a Republican . . . I was a Republican, but I am an independent now." On Jan. 8, 1964, the *Free Press* quotes Romney: "I am a Republican . . . I have been a Republican all my life. I have never been anything else."

In Cincinnati at the Midwest Governor's Conference just this June, Romney had a new line: He was "as conservative as the Constitution, as progressive as Teddy Roosevelt, and as liberal as Mr. Lincoln." Even the liberal *Newsweek* was moved to remark: "He has yet to show unequivocally which Romney is for real."

Making his first post-election nationwide appearance on "Meet the Press" last week, Romney dazzled onlookers with his "non-positions" and his ability to confuse the viewer as to where he stands.

Asked what he would do about Viet Nam, Romney came close to boasting of having no opinion. Remarked the governor: "Now I have never taken a specific position and I have never made any specific proposals, and I have done a good deal of studying the problem."

When prompted to give a specific reason as to why he didn't support Goldwater in 1964, Romney declared: "Now I am not interested in going back and taking a look at the past."

Was he for letting Red China into the United Nations? "I'd like to see them members," he said, but also added that Red China has given no evidence it is "prepared to qualify." On trading with the Communists: "I think that we need to take a good look at this . . . I don't think we ought to do what we did with wheat . . . but I think we should do everything we can to build a bridge between this nation and the Communist nations."

On domestic affairs, Romney seems no less confusing. With evangelistic oratory mingled with many good facts, he has condemned the growing powers of the federal government, yet he says he was vigorously for a federal "open housing" law. He claims that the unions have too much power, but in 1964, after conferring with his aide Richard Van Deusen, he said the Republican party should have a positive statement in its platform against right-to-work laws, which forbid compulsory unionism.

Hence, the confusion as to where Romney stands. Until he knows what his own positions are, he can hardly expect the Republican party to rally to his support.

The Baker Affair

Is the U.S. government throwing the case against LBJ's protege, Bobby Baker, the one-time secretary to the Senate majority, and Baker's friends? That's the question now being raised in the Nation's Capital as the government's actions in regard to Baker and Co. continue to take strange and mysterious turns.

By last May, for example, the government seemed to have won its case against Fred Black, a former close associate of Baker. Black had been convicted of evading $91,000 in income taxes, sentenced to jail and had lost an appeal to the Supreme Court. That appeared to be that.

But not quite. Lo and behold on May 24—three weeks after the Supreme Court had refused to review Black's conviction—Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall made the extraordinary confession that the FBI had eavesdropped on Black in his Sheraton-Carlton Hotel suite in Washington, D.C.

As a result of this admitted "bugging," the Supreme Court on November 8 ordered a new tax-evasion trial for Black.

The repercussions of the Marshall revelation did not end there. The case against Baker, himself, has been closely tied in with the case against Black. Moreover, Baker had used the same suite as Black and it was very likely that his conversations were bugged as well, though Marshall had not admitted it.

Indeed, subsequent to Marshall's sudden confession about Black, Baker's attorney, Edward Bennett Williams, charged that Baker's indictment had been marred with "tainted evidence" amassed through the bugging operations of the FBI.

Last week Williams got what he wanted: an admission from the government that Baker's phone had been tapped—and, more amazing, a statement from the Department of Justice that the taps violated Baker's constitutional rights. The department made public a 34-page transcript of "overheard" Baker conversations, just to prove, its spokesman said, that they were incidental to the indictment. In trying to prove this point, however, the Justice Department also proved the defense contention that Baker's private conversations had been bugged. Whether the courts will now throw out the Baker indictment remains to be seen, but since the department has "admitted" its "guilt," there seems to be little doubt what the outcome will be.

Commented the Washington *Evening Star* about these events:

"This unusual courtroom activity has produced a variety of responses among interested observers, ranging from a wide-eyed acceptance of the Justice Department's confession of past wrongs as evidence of a new-found conscience to a gimlet-eyed, cynical view that the United States is out to dump the case against Baker and Co.

"For ourselves we shall wait and see. The government should, after all, have the same right as the accused to its day in court before judgment is passed. But the Justice Department and the Administration must know that Bobby Baker and Fred Black are not the only ones on trial."

Bobby's Fortunes Sag

Overlooked by some political commentators is the enormity of the loss suffered by bobby-sox idol Robert Kennedy in the 1966 elections. Not only couldn't he transfer his supposed popularity to Democratic candidates, but in areas where his power was clearly at stake, Bobby lost.

KENNEDY

Liberal Democratic columnist Doris Fleeson notes, for example, that Kennedy's power base was shattered in New York where GOP Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, considered a pushover, was re-elected. Rockefeller's victory, says Miss Fleeson, "is the second major defeat of New York Democrats since Kennedy became senator and titular head of the party, the other being Republican John Lindsay's capture of the New York City mayoralty a year ago."

Massachusetts, the Kennedy homeland, re-elected GOP Gov. John Volpe and sent Republican Edward

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Brooke to the Senate. Neither New York nor Massachusetts, states Miss Fleeson, "enjoyed Kennedy leadership worth mentioning, especially in the choice of candidates, and received not much other help in the hard campaigning chores, including fund raising. Politicians irritated with the President for deserting his troops in the clinches will be mindful of this record."

In Wisconsin, Fleeson observes, Bobby "exerted himself in an effort to elect a 1960 Midwest ally, Patrick Lucey, governor of Wisconsin. Lucey lost. Florida elected its first Republican governor in 92 years in preference to a Kennedy intimate, Miami Mayor Robert King High."

As a way of building up his soaring ambitions, say politicos, Kennedy's campaigning in 1966 was a fiasco.

Communist Kidnapers

The Soviet-Czech conspiracy to kidnap a naturalized American has called into grave question the Administration's decision to permit the Soviet Union to operate its Aeroflot airline from New York City.

As most Americans are now aware, it was revealed last week that Vladimir J. Kazan-Komarek, 42, president of the Harvard Travel Service of Cambridge, Mass., was seized by Prague officials on October 31 when a Soviet Aeroflot plane on a Moscow-to-Paris flight made an unscheduled stop in the Czechoslovak capital. He is now charged with "high treason, espionage and attempted murder," allegedly committed as a foreign agent in a group operating across the Czech border between 1948 and 1951.

According to available information, Kazan-Komarek was born in Opova, Czechoslovakia, in 1924, was taken prisoner by the Germans in World War II and left Czechoslovakia in 1948.

He was apparently unaware of the charges that Czechoslovakia now says were brought against him in 1963, for in June of this year he. actually applied for and received a Czechoslovak visa.

Even hard-shelled diplomats in Washington seem stunned by the brazen manner in which the "mellowing" Soviets enabled the Czech government to carry out the kidnaping of an American citizen.

Kazan-Komarek had gone to the Soviet Union on October 24 in response to an Intourist invitation to attend a conference of travel agents. When he decided to leave Moscow for Paris, the Aeroflot airline made a bee-line for Prague.

The State Department, itself, which initially tried to hush up the matter, said the only authorized intermediate stop for the Moscow-Paris flight was in Riga, Latvia. When the plane reached Paris, a woman passenger called the U.S. Embassy and said Kazan-Komarek had been removed from the plane in the Czech capital.

This extraordinary kidnaping, however, has not apparently "damaged" U.S.-Soviet relations to any noticeable degree. But a number of lawmakers are now wondering just how wise the Administration was to permit the Soviets to open up their Aeroflot service in the United States.

Minutemen Leaders Convicted

Robert Bolivar DePugh and two members of his secret Minutemen organization were convicted by a jury in Kansas City last week of violating the Federal Firearms Act. They accepted the verdict without comment. The jury, which heard testimony for just six days, deliberated only one hour and 11 minutes.

DePugh and Walter Peyson were charged in one count with possessing a German-made submachine gun without having paid a $200 tax assessed on making or altering of a firearm. Another count charged the same two with possessing a .45-caliber Thompson submachine gun, another German-made submachine gun and a .45-caliber M3 submachine gun. The third man was convicted on lesser charges.

Testimony at the trial provided new insights into the secretive, paramilitary organization, which gives its members training in guerrilla warfare. One of the government's witnesses, Al Sommerford, a former Hutchinson, Kan., salesman, testified he quit his $115-a-week job with the Minutemen because, among other reasons, " . . . I refused to train a bunch of nuts and kooks into being assassins."

Another ex-member, Jerry Brooke, testified he was permitted to work with the Minutemen even after suggesting to DePugh and others the idea of putting cyanide gas in the air conditioning vent of the United Nations building.

• Nat H. Hentel, district attorney of Queens County, N.Y., announced October 30 that police had arrested 15 Minutemen and had broken up a terrorist plot to blow up three camps operated by Communists and extreme-left liberals. DePugh, however, denied that the people arrested were dues-paying members of his organization. Their cases have yet to come to trial.

• The disclosures in New York and Missouri have done much to discredit the so-called Patriotic party, the political action arm of DePugh and his Minutemen. Many conservatives who joined this group without realizing this interconnection are now having second thoughts.

Soviets Liked LBJ

Columnist Walter Trohan of the Chicago *Tribune* has revealed that the Soviets offered to help President Johnson in the 1964 election. The offer, says Trohan, was tendered in New York City by Soviet U.N. delegate Nikolai Federenko to Adlai E. Stevenson, the chief United States delegate.

In a "now-it-can-be-told" story, Trohan said that when Stevenson and Federenko met in the delegates lounge, "the Russian looked around to see that they were not observed. Then, in a whisper, he confided that his government favored the election of Johnson over Barry Goldwater . . . " and would intervene on his behalf.

Stevenson, said Trohan, was surprised and shocked. When he relayed the message to LBJ, the President promptly turned the offer down. He was also well aware that Soviet support could boomerang and Stevenson was instructed to reject the offer politely but firmly.

The 'Peace' Congressmen

A number of candidates running against America's participation in the war in Viet Nam may have lost in 1966, but a "peace" group composed of Senate and House members will nevertheless be actively functioning in the 90th Congress. Its purpose: to find a way to accommodate the Communists on a broad range of issues.

This new organization has a number of radical-left leaders, including the group's chairman, Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.).

Other members of the steering committee: Senators Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), Robert Kennedy (D.-N.Y.), Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) and George McGovern (D.-S.D.); and Representatives Jonathan Bingham (D.-N.Y.), Donald Fraser (D.-Minn.), James Fulton (R.-Pa.), Robert Kastenmeier (D.-Wis.), Patsy Mink (D.-Hawaii), Bradford Morse (R.-Mass.), Benjamin Rosenthal (D.-N.Y.) and Richard Schweiker (R.-Pa.). The 13 say they will invite other legislators to join when Congress reconvenes.

The bipartisan organization, which announced its formation the day after the Chinese Communists had claimed they had test-fired a guided nuclear missile, seeks to implement in Congress radical recommendations along the lines made last year at the White House Conference on International Cooperation. Among those "recommendations": an increase in East-West trade; a possible cut of one-third of our strategic nuclear force; an uninspected test-ban agreement with the Soviets; steps to bring Red China into the United Nations; and a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw pact powers which would, in effect, legitimize the Communist conquest of Eastern Europe.

Correction

• *In the understandably rushed reporting of the election returns in last week's issue (pages 12 and 13), three Republican candidates for the House of Representatives were erroneously listed as having won. Frank LaMagna (Calif.), Robert Davidson (N.M.) and Frederick Martin (N.Y.) were in fact defeated by the Democratic incumbents. We apologize for these errors and remind readers who save their issues to make the necessary changes.*

Clark Scored

Sen. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.), crusading liberal and wheelhorse in the Americans for Democratic Action, has been labeled a racial and religious bigot by a leading figure in his own party.

CLARK

Philadelphia's Democratic city chairman, Francis R. Smith, assailed Clark in an extraordinary statement published in the Philadelphia *Inquirer*. Smith said the socially prominent Clark has repeatedly demonstrated "intolerance toward people with backgrounds dissimilar to his own" and accused the solon of anti-Negro, anti-Italian, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic bias.

"In 1960, less than 30 minutes before the rollcall nominating John Kennedy for President on the first ballot at the Democratic convention in Los Angeles, Sen. Clark was walking around Convention Hall mouthing a vicious anti-Catholic diatribe against Jack Kennedy," Smith said.

Smith said that Clark "deliberately stirred up ethnic and religious bigotry" in 1964, when he opposed the candidacy of State Supreme Court Justice Michael Musmanno in the Democratic primary for senator. Musmanno agrees.

In a public speech on April 4, 1964, Clark demanded: "Why doesn't Justice Musmanno tell where he was born?"

"By this question," Musmanno said last week, "Clark intended to have people believe, because of the Italian origin of my name, that my birthplace was Italy. I certainly would not be ashamed if that were so. I am proud of my heritage and, moreover, countless exemplary citizens were born abroad.

"The truth of the matter," he added, "is that I was born of Italian parents in Stowe Township, Pa.," a fact, Musmanno said, that Clark knew since it is in every biographical sketch of the justice.

Clark was unavailable for comment. He was junketing abroad on a "working vacation" that will take him to Paris, Warsaw, Moscow, Belgrade, Budapest, Athens, Cairo and the Jordanian section of Jerusalem.

Rent Subsidy Setback

Rep. Bill Brock (R.-Tenn.) predicts that Congress will cut off appropriations next year for the controversial rent subsidy program. The Tennessee lawmaker said this would be Congress' reaction to the use of $200 million in Treasury funds for what he termed a "bail-out operation to save the floundering program."

BROCK

The program was originally sold to Congress as one that would be privately financed, he noted. The subsidy scheme was designed, ostensibly, to reduce demand for public housing by encouraging church, labor and other non-profit groups to undertake such building.

"Six months after initial funding of this program," Brock said, "contracts providing for the construction of only two projects of 60 units have been signed."

The Federal National Mortgage Association announced in late October that it would purchase up to $200 million of mortgages on rent subsidy projects. This would be done under its special assistance program, which has access to Treasury funds. Brock said this means a "second huge federal subsidy has crept into this already subsidized program. . . . I am convinced an effort to deny further appropriations for the program will succeed." (For further evidence of the problem rent subsidy faces in the new Congress, see page 12.)

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TV Critic Very Upset by 'Hitler in Havana' Film

New York Times' Jack Gould seems most angry about Eversharp sponsorship

From *America's Future*

Those who watch the gyrations of our liberal pundits of the press were very much intrigued by a recent proposal made by the TV reviewer of the New York *Times*, Mr. Jack Gould. Mr. Gould became very exercised over a television documentary called "Hitler in Havana," shown on a local New York station. It was, as the title suggests, an anti-Communist film about the bearded Red dictator of Cuba.

A number of things about the film upset Mr. Gould no end. One was the fact that its producer, Edward Scannell Butler, was, in Mr. Gould's words, "among the first professionally committed to toppling the subject of his program."

In plain English, Mr. Butler, an official of an organization specializing in radio recordings to combat communism in Latin America, was among the first to understand the necessity of getting rid of a Communist dictator 90 miles from the American mainland.

What does Mr. Gould mean—that no one should produce a show about Castro unless he does *not* want him toppled? And by throwing in the word "professionally," did Mr. Gould wish to imply that Mr. Butler is paid for his anti-Communist efforts? In that case, perhaps Mr. Gould should have specified whether he himself refuses his salary from the New York *Times* for his "professionally" liberal endeavors.

Another thing that threw Mr. Gould into a liberal tizzy was that the documentary noted that President Kennedy's murderer, Lee Harvey Oswald, was a Castroite and that Communist influences in this country would like to produce more such men by influencing the minds of young Americans.

Despite documentary evidence that Oswald was a Castroite, and that Communists certainly are concentrating their efforts on college campuses, Mr. Gould thought it was tasteless to use the assassination in such a context. But was Mr. Gould ever the least bit disturbed about the manner in which the assassination was used, is still used, in some liberal and leftist circles in an attempt to besmirch "right-wingism"?

Patrick J. Frawley Jr. is president of Eversharp, Inc., sponsor of the anti-Castro documentary.

However, evidently what really caused Mr. Gould's bemoaning and bewailing was that the sponsor of this anti-Communist film was Eversharp, Inc., maker of Schick safety razor blades.

Eversharp's president is Patrick J. Frawley Jr. We do not know Mr. Frawley personally, but he seems to be one of those American businessmen who is not afraid to defend the system which made possible his business and all the jobs it provides, who understands American institutions and traditions and the threat which communism and its leftist and liberal dupes hold for those institutions and traditions.

Fidel Castro's tyranny over the Cuban people was the subject of a recent TV documentary which prompted critic Jack Gould to question the sponsorship of the show.

It is interesting to note that last summer Mr. Frawley's company sponsored a non-political, non-ideological but very fine patriotic entertainment film with an excellent cast of young Americans called "Up With People." The CBS television network refused to sell time to Mr. Frawley's company to show the film on its network, but this action brought no howls of protest from our liberal and leftist lovers of "freedom"—freedom for their point of view, that is, not anybody else's.

However, what was really intriguing about Mr. Gould's criticism of this anti-Castro documentary was his proposal that when a film like this is shown, the station or network should identify the sponsor—seemingly, in this case, that the Eversharp company should be identified as headed by what Mr. Gould would probably call a "right-winger," but what others might call a pro-American or anti-Communist. Well, why not? Such programs and shows on television are certainly few and far between, but Mr. Gould's proposal in all fairness ought to apply to all TV sponsors, not just the anti-Communist, pro-American ones. In that case, we might hear, for example, at the end of a series aired last year about the wonders of the United Nations, something like this: The foregoing propaganda for the United Nations was sponsored by the Xerox Co., whose president, Mr. Linowitz, is a friend and adviser of the present Administration in Washington.

Then there are any number of other shows—variety, comedies, spy dramas and so on—into which are slipped sneers or downgrading of anti-communism, pro-Americanism, respect for law and order, free enterprise, or which are designed to make us feel kindly toward Russian Reds or homegrown leftists or Vietniks or what have you. Some of them, of course, have numerous sponsors, which might make the identification Mr. Gould desires take up more time than the programs themselves.

And if we're going to have such identification of sponsors, why not of the writers and producers—even the actors—some of whose pro-leftist records would take so long to list that the shows themselves would have to be scratched. After all, what is sauce for Mr. Gould's "rightist" goose should also be sauce for the liberal or leftist gander.

It is obvious that Mr. Gould has not quite thought through his proposal for identification of sponsors. Considering how heavily TV programming is weighted against the kind of program that so upset the *Times'* critic, once audiences begin to get full and fair identification of those who sponsor so many of the other kind, there might occur not only switches in the purchase of sponsors' products but a massive switching off of TV sets. Then where would poor Mr. Gould be as a TV reviewer, with nothing to review to justify his pay from the New York *Times?*

□ □ □

AID FAILURES—Huge doses of U. S. foreign aid are actually harmful to many foreign nations, Sen. Ernest Gruening (D.-Alaska) reported recently. Gruening, chairman of the Senate Government Operations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid, recently completed an extensive probe of U. S. aid programs in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. Disputing critics who say the United States has shortchanged these nations when it comes to aid, Gruening said: "The magnitude of assistance has little connection with the results obtained. Rather, it is clear that an excessive infusion of funds overburdens fragile institutions, creates a profusion of new activities for which trained manpower is not available and end by dissipating efforts to the end where virtually no permanent benefits result."

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Sen. Thurmond Discusses Anti-Missile Gap

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara announced on November 10 in Johnson City, Tex., that the Soviets have deployed an anti-ballistic missile system. To those who have followed defense affairs, this announcement was no surprise. As Barry Goldwater says, "This Administration has known about the Soviet anti-missile effort for years, not just months, weeks or days. During the 1964 presidential campaign, for instance, a major Republican position paper pointed to the deployment of anti-missile systems around Moscow and Leningrad."

For years, however, the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations have refused to clarify this issue for the American public. Evasion was the standard technique.

Now, however, developments in the Soviet Union have gone so far that McNamara was forced to make his announcement.

"The truth is now out and it hurts," said Goldwater. "The long-delayed announcement of the Soviet missile defenses has made headlines around the world as leaders awaken to its significance—a nation even partially protected against ballistic missiles has moved one horrible step closer to being able to practice nuclear blackmail against the world, from a sheltered bastion."

Because this issue is of such great importance, Human Events *posed the following questions to Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), one of the Senate's leading experts on defense matters. Since 1961, Sen. Thurmond has urged the development of an anti-missile missile system in the United States. He has fought for it, unfortunately without success, in many meetings of the Senate Armed Services Committee.*

Why was such a system not built? Mainly because many influential advisers to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson had convinced their superiors that besides its great cost and technological problems, such a system was politically inadvisable because it would be provocative to the Soviets. Defense Secretary McNamara went along with this analysis.

McNamara's recent announcement shows the fallacy of this reasoning. Here is Sen. Thurmond's reaction:

Q. Senator, do you think there was any significance in the timing of this announcement, just two days following the elections?

A. Unquestionably, the announcement was quite belated. Evidence of the Soviet's commitment to a full-scale, third generation ABM deployment has been available for more than two years, and this evidence was instrumental in the decision of the Congress to authorize and appropriate funds for pre-production engineering on the Nike-X system in the last session.

Q. Do you think Mr. McNamara has misled the Congress and the American people in regard to the development of a Soviet missile defense?

A. I do not believe that the secretary of defense has conveyed the sense of urgency to the Congress and the public which the Soviet ABM program merits.

Q. Even following his announcement, Mr. McNamara stated that there is still "absolutely no question" about American capability to penetrate Soviet defenses with both missiles and aircraft. How does that square with his statement that it "is important that we assume it [the Soviet ABM system] is effective and, of course, that will be the assumption on which we base the development of our own intercontinental ballistic missiles"?

A. Assumptions of U.S. ability to penetrate Soviet ABM defenses are based on the *absence* of hard intelligence confirming a high performance capability for the Russian system. On the other hand, and more pertinent to the effectiveness of our deterrent, is the fact that the Soviets have sufficient confidence in the effectiveness of their system to commit the extensive resources required for the deployment of such an elaborate system.

Q. To counteract the development of this Soviet system, Defense Secretary McNamara says he will ask Congress to approve the production of the multi-billion-dollar Poseidon missile, an offensive weapon presumably better able to penetrate Soviet defenses than its predecessor, the Polaris. Do you think re-equipping American submarines with nuclear-tipped Poseidon missiles can effectively combat the Soviet's ABM system?

A. The Poseidon missile represents a major advance in ballistic missiles and should be produced. The same technology should be incorporated into our inter-continental ballistic missiles such as Minuteman. But these are no substitute for a deployment of a U.S. defense against ballistic missiles. It is a major fallacy to assume that the Soviet offense will remain static while they are deploying their ABM system, and prudence requires that we anticipate that they will at the same time incorporate into their offensive forces the technological advances which makes the Poseidon development necessary for the United States. There is no doubt as to their technological capability in this field.

Q. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have unanimously recommended the development and deployment of our own ABM system, yet the defense secretary still appears opposed to setting up a system of missile defense. Do you feel he is at all influenced by those in the government who insist that deploying such a system is "provocative" and will only accelerate the arms race?

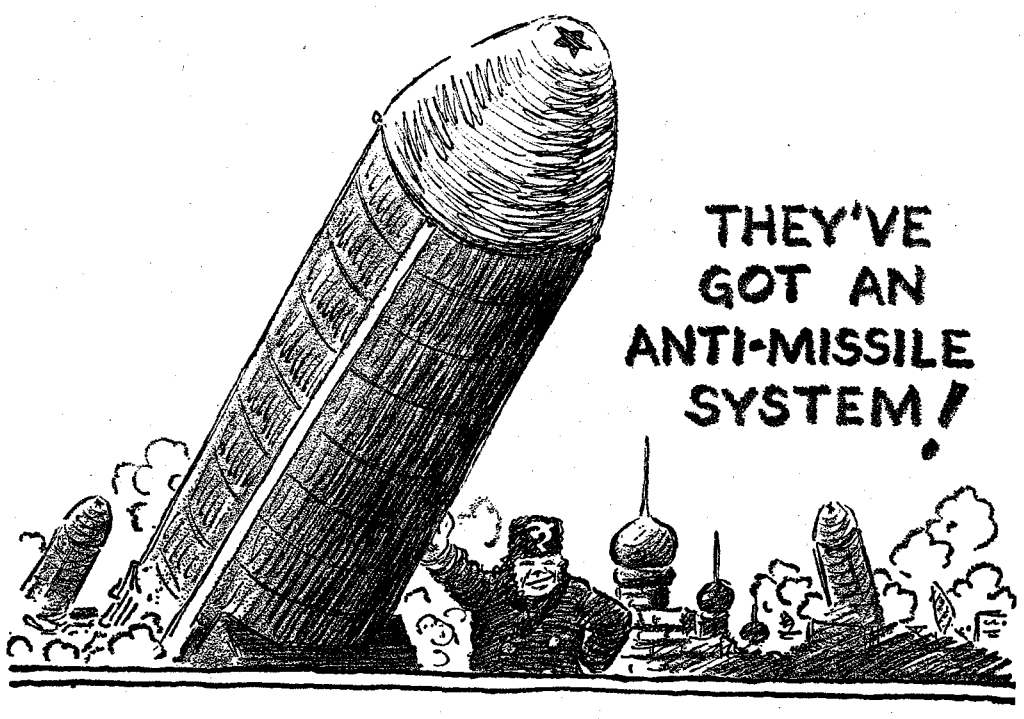
A. I have no way of knowing all the factors which influence the thinking of the secretary of defense on the issue of ABM deployment by the United States. I have personally considered the *Soviet* deployment of an ABM system quite provocative, and we should by all means accelerate our efforts to deploy our own ABM system. Quite obviously, no action of ours at this point could cause the Soviets to accelerate their efforts to a rate faster than they are already proceeding.

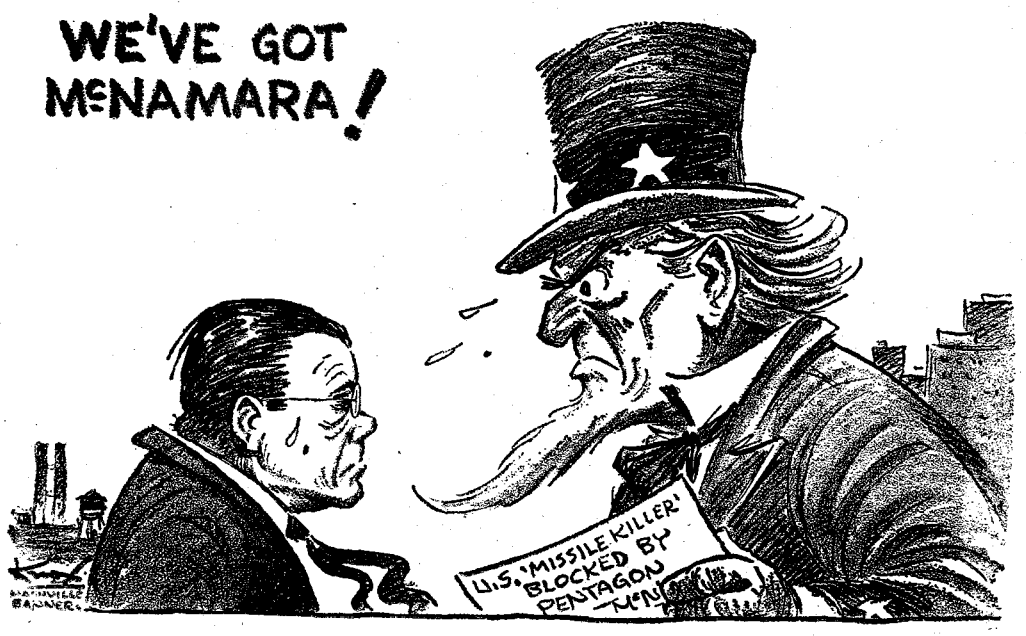
Q. How far are we behind the Soviets in the ABM field?

A. From an operational effectiveness standpoint, it is difficult to tell where the relative advantages of the U.S. and Soviet systems lie. Obviously, however, the Soviets have already begun deployment some time ago, and it would take us about five years to deploy from the time the decision is made.

Q. Do you agree with the Joint Chiefs that we should begin to deploy an ABM system now?

A. Of course. As far back as 1963 I caused a closed session of the Senate to be held for the specific purpose of urging that the United States begin deployment of an ABM system.





Courtesy Nashville *Banner*

Q. What sort of capabilities would it have?

A. It would have the capability of saving millions of lives in the event of a missile attack against the United States. Its capabilities would extend to defense against all existing types of Soviet missiles and the degree of its effectiveness would largely depend on the extensiveness of its deployment.

Q. Will the nuclear test-ban treaty barring all tests above ground and underwater hurt our efforts in developing a missile defense system?

A. The partial nuclear test-ban treaty does not substantially inhibit development of a U.S. ABM system, although it does prevent such a system from being tested for operations in a nuclear environment.

Q. Wouldn't the cost of an ABM system be enormous, and could it really be effective against a massive missile attack in which incoming missiles were armed with decoys and were fixed with electronic jamming devices?

A. The cost of deployment of an ABM system would range between $4 billion and $30 billion, depending on the extent and configuration of the deployment. Developments in the last two years have made it possible to deploy a highly effective system for less cost than was previously estimated. The Nike-X system has an effective capability for discriminating actual warheads from decoys and would have no substantial problem with existing counter-measure devices.

Q. Defense Secretary McNamara and others have either stated or strongly implied that a missile defense system would be almost meaningless unless the country decided to build nuclear shelters on a large scale. Could you comment?

A. A shelter program in conjunction with the deployment of an ABM system would unquestionably be advantageous and more effective in saving lives in the event of a missile attack on the United States. In 1964, the last time Secretary McNamara proposed a shelter program, I supported his program for shelter defenses. The long lead time for deployment, however, is connected with the ABM system, and it should be begun immediately in any event.

Q. Some reports say that the Soviets are concentrating on missile defense because, historically, the Russians have always devoted much of their military budget to defense. These reports also suggest that the Soviets are not concentrating on offensive weapons.

A. In the context of today's technology, I do not believe we can attribute the Soviet deployment of an ABM system primarily to defense preferences. For more than 15 years the Soviets have increased their arsenal of offensive missiles, which certainly doesn't bear out any particular preference on their part for a defensive system. Every indication points to the fact that the Soviets are concentrating on systems which give the promise of having a decisive effort on the balance of strategic military power. This includes not only deployment of an ABM system, but also the latest technology in offensive systems as well.

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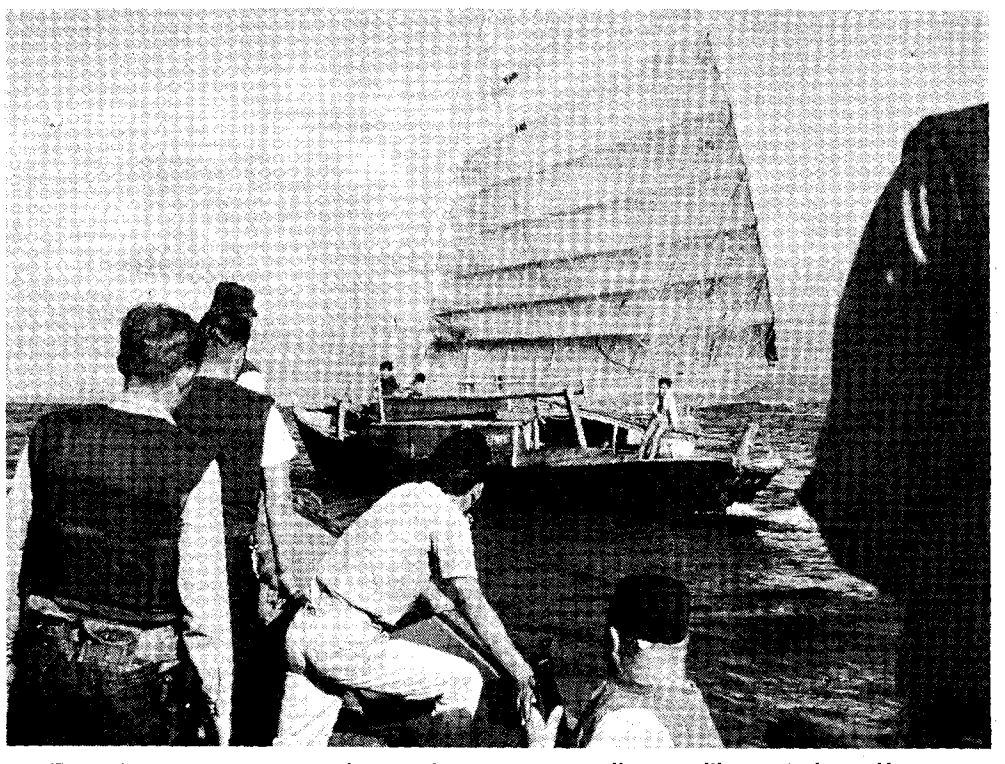

The Viet Nam war may simmer down to a sporadic guerrilla campaign. Here a suspected Viet Cong junk comes under the scrutiny of a U.S. coastal patrol.

Peace in the Air?

Moscow-Peking competition in alibis is suspicious Viet Nam development

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

It may be time for me to have my head examined, but I'm beginning to believe that peace in Viet Nam is in the air.

The reason for thinking this is the strange competition between Red China and Soviet Russia in preparing alibis in case the Communists lose the Vietnamese war.

About every third week the Red dragon in Peking lashes his tail, snorts fire, and announces that Moscow is in league with the capitalists to betray North Viet Nam's Ho Chi Minh. The accusation makes no objective sense, for the Soviet ships go on docking at the North Vietnamese port of Haiphong and the Russian-built SAM-2 surface-to-air missiles keep on knocking U.S. bombing planes out of the skies over the Hanoi area. But, just in case Ho Chi Minh is doomed to fail, the Red Chinese have their excuses ready. The word will go out through Red China that Moscow has let the Southeast Asian revolution down.

That isn't the way they will be hearing it in the western Communist world, however. At the recent celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Moscow's Red Square, the Soviet minister of defense, Marshal Rodion Malinovksy, made the usual ritualistic denunciation of the "imperialist United States," which was behaving "criminally" in Asia. He also pledged more Soviet aid to Hanoi.

But the really interesting thing in the Malinovksy speech was the way he hedged his bet on Ho Chi Minh. Communist China, he said, was obstructing Soviet and East European aid to North Viet Nam, and making it difficult for Ho to win a victory that could otherwise, with world Socialist unity, be achieved.

Malinovsky's alibi was quite in line with the similar alibi offered by Arvid Pelshe, a member of the Moscow politburo. Listening to the Russian alibis was a little too much for Red Chinese diplomats to Moscow. They walked out of the anniversary meetings in protest.

The respective alibis concocted in Moscow and Peking could mean that Ho Chi Minh will wake up one fine morning to discover he has been cast in the role of the patsy, or fall-guy. But the Russians, we may be sure, will try to sweeten the pill for him by an effort to win at least something by the diplomacy of "peace-making" that the Viet Cong haven't been able to win on the battlefield.

The alibi prepared by Moscow in case an armistice must be accepted will be used to justify any compromises made necessary by U.S. bargaining at the peace table. And Ho, who can't manufacture a SAM-2 missile or a MIG plane, will have to take what is presented to him.

The danger in the Red competition in alibi-making is that big, good-hearted Uncle Sam will try to make it easy for both Moscow and Peking to save face. But this is something that may take more ingenuity than can be mustered by even our most adept experts in appeasement.

As M. Stanton Evans points out in his searching new book, *The Politics of Surrender*, liberal foreign policy can be stretched into the strangest shapes to make things palatable to the Communists. But how do you please both Peking and Moscow when they are each faced with the task of proving to Communist parties throughout the world that it was "the other guy" who made it necessary to end the war by a compromise deal?

Western foreign policy has not been distinguished by its astuteness, as witness Yalta, the loss of China, Suez, Hungary, the Berlin Wall, Fidel Castro, and the Congo-Katanga shambles. But the inability of the Communists to solve their own problems has saved the West time and again. Ben Bella couldn't make Algerian socialism work, Nkrumah flopped in Ghana, and Sukarno brought rich Indonesia to the verge of ruin.

And now that Red China and Soviet Russia are each confessing their failure in Viet Nam by trying to alibi themselves out of responsibility for losing the war, maybe the United States will obtain a peace by default. The war in Viet Nam could dwindle away to sporadic guerrilla activity simply because neither Moscow nor Peking dares to argue its alibi before the rest of the Socialist world. It could be that both of them have been beaten and they cannot face it.

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Bobby and Hubert: Two Big Losers in '66 Elections

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

"You say these men are the walking wounded of the election battle of 1966?" asked the Returning Traveler, who'd been away during the campaign. "Some of them appear to be badly scarred, some are in a state of shock and some look to be almost political basket cases. Who is that poor fellow with that large footprint in the seat of his pants?"

The poor fellow's dogtags, the Traveler was told, carry only the initials LBJ. He made an ill-considered verbal attack upon Richard Nixon shortly before Election Day, and the wound LBJ carries looks very much as if Dick Nixon had delivered him a swift kick.

Sen. Robert Kennedy, says columnist Alexander, "had no more influence on the 1966 election than if he'd stayed in South Africa."

"It seems that LBJ's pride is hurt more than anything else," observed the Traveler. "He may well make a political recovery by 1968, but the scar will show for a long time. And who is the Democratic senator whose stunned expression makes him look as if he had been dropped from a high place and landed on his head?"

That senator has been identified as the high-climbing Robert F. Kennedy, the Traveler was informed. Despite his immensely publicized campaign trips to California, Wyoming, Oregon, Illinois and elsewhere, RFK's chosen candidates could not be saved. His adopted state of New York went Republican in a big way. His native state of Massachusetts elected a GOP governor and senator. His residential state of Virginia returned two Republican congressmen and elected two others of that party.

In short, Bob Kennedy had no more influence on the 1966 election than if he'd stayed in South Africa. It was a traumatic experience, coming after all those crowds of beatniks and teen-agers that yelped around him in the cities and almost tore his clothes off in their frenetic adoration.

"Still," said the Returning Traveler, "I did notice a certain glint of satisfaction in Bob's eye as he looked upon another national Democrat who seems worse wounded than he."

The Returning Traveler must be referring to the unfortunate Democrat who looks like a near-basket case. Vice President Hubert Humphrey traveled for Democratic candidates almost as fast, furiously and futilely as Bob Kennedy did, and with no better results.

In Humphrey's home state, Karl Rolvaag's defeat for the Minnesota governorship just about tore the vice president limb from limb, politically speaking. He may not be able to pull himself together in time to save his vice presidential place on the '68 ticket, and that is why Bob Kennedy manages to smile through his own pain. However, the one Democrat who stayed out of the battle didn't get a scratch and now wears a positive grin, is. . . .

"I recognize him," declared the Returning Traveler. "That would be U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. He is grinning because the Democratic vice presidential nomination of '68 might well go to him.

"Yes, I am now able to recognize some others, also, despite their bandages, crutches, boot-marks, black eyes, injured pride and chop-fallen expressions."

For a long while the Returning Traveler stood and watched the melancholy march of the Democratic walking wounded, whose names were Pat Brown, Paul Douglas, Frank Clement, Teno Roncalio, Ralph Harding, Pat Jennings, Harold Cooley, Waggoner Carr, Endicott Peabody, Eddie McCormack and others too numerous to name.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

MISSION '66 SWEEPSTAKES WINNERS

The HUMAN EVENTS MISSION '66 sweepstakes competition which began on January 1 and ended October 31, offered 19 cash prizes to the persons selling or giving the highest dollar value worth of subscriptions. HUMAN EVENTS takes great pride and pleasure in announcing the names of the 19 winners.

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Dr. Roy L. Fultz, Salem, Ind.

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Dorothy E. McIntosh–New York, N.Y.
John R. McCune–Oklahoma City, Okla.
Lane Thomason–Cairo, Ill.
M. L. Schultz–Defiance, Ohio
Susan A. Betterton–Chesterton, Ind.
R. J. Disselkamp–Louisville, Ky.
Dr. M. O. Fester–Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mrs. Martha Nardone–Needham, Mass.
John Flint–Rochester, N. Y.
Art Herschberger–Princeton, Wis.
Robert Phillips–Palos Verdes Estates, Calif.
R.W. and M.W. Douglass–Sioux Falls, S.D.
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Sharp Congressional Losses for Organize

Defeat of 152 of 333 COPE-endorsed House candidates and 13 of its 22 S

Generally overlooked by the press and television in the excitement and confusion following the recent elections were the stunning setbacks suffered by the political forces of organized labor. Previously the most well-organized and most successful electioneering machine in the country, the labor forces took it on the chin in 1966 and now must wage a defensive campaign to protect the pro-labor gains made in the 89th Congress.

Labor's loss was extensive and decisive, stretching from the cold reaches of upstate New Hampshire, where freshman liberal Rep. J. Oliva Huot lost to a conservative Republican, to the warm and sunny climes of southern California, where freshman liberal Ken Dyal went down in defeat. Among the victims of the Republican triumph were such long-time labor supporters as G. Mennen Williams in Michigan, Paul Douglas in Illinois, Pat Brown in California, Karl Rolvaag in Minnesota, Jim Trimble in Arkansas, Walter Moeller in Ohio and David King in Utah.

Unsuccessful Purges

And at the same time these labor favorites were being rejected at the polls, such targets of labor campaigns as Carl Curtis of Nebraska, John Tower of Texas, Jack Miller of Iowa, John Ashbrook of Ohio and Joel Broyhill of Virginia were scoring easy victories with large pluralities.

Most remarkable, these setbacks came after one of the most intensive campaigns ever waged by the political operatives of organized labor in an off-year election.

"All I know," said Al Barkan, national director of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, shortly before the voting, "is that this year we have more action, more men, more funds, more precinct workers than ever before. There is no doubt that this year labor's effort is better than even 1960 and 1964."

Planning and preparations for this month's elections began in Barkan's Washington office almost the minute the polls closed in 1964. Shortly after these elections a memo went out over Barkan's signature urging union members to get active in the 1965 municipal and state elections "to keep in shape" for 1966. Plans were laid for a new, revolutionary computerized voter registration program which saw the "political status" of thousands of rank-and-filers recorded on punch cards for easier checking by campaign organizers.

The COPE Marginal District Project, first used in 1964, was expanded and streamlined (see *Human Events,* July 23, 1966); districts were pinpointed in which the pro-labor incumbent won in '64 with less than 55 per cent of the vote, or was otherwise considered to be in for a tough race in '66. Into these districts COPE shoveled additional campaign funds from union treasuries and assigned political experts to handle the "nuts-and-bolts" planning of the incumbent's campaign.

"Half a hundred representatives of various unions have been allocated to individual congressmen, mostly Democrats, to aid their re-election efforts," reported the *Wall Street Journal* in the summer of 1966. "A week-long training session in Washington preceded their deployment. It's the first time such an operation has begun so early and been so thoroughly organized."

The COPE fund raisers also went to work, filling up the war chest that has so often provided the margin of victory for an impoverished pro-labor candidate. Each international union affiliate of the AFL-CIO was contacted to kick in its share of members' dues for such "educational" (as opposed to "political") expenses as propaganda sent to COPE members, the voter registration program, COPE voting records, and paid political field directors.

As with most labor political campaigns, it is next to impossible to report exactly how much union money was poured into the coffers of favored candidates in 1966, but records filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives give some indication of this total, and thus far in 1966 labor political organizations, including COPE, have reported upwards of $10 million spent on campaign operations.

Meanwhile, labor's propaganda presses were rolling overtime, exhorting the rank-and-file to "support your friends, oppose your enemies," urging them to get out and work for "friends," calling on members to "give a buck for COPE" to directly finance political campaigns and issuing other statements aimed at heating up the emotional temperature of the men who are the backbone of labor's political machine.

As usual, COPE's propaganda goal was to lump everyone who could be called a conservative together under the heading of "right-wing extremist" and then show how the "extremists" were in actual, secret control of the Republican party (see *Human Events*, Oct. 22, 1966). GOP candidates such as Ronald Reagan in California, Robert Griffin in Michigan, Chuck Percy in Illinois, Tim Babcock in Montana and countless others were continually portrayed in COPE's hard-line literature as either "rightists" themselves or close allies of "extremists."

And 1966 saw a new wrinkle added to this propaganda assault: Sensing a negative reaction – the so-called "white backlash"—to the violent and disruptive civil rights demonstrations among the American electorate, including the rank-and-file, the labor propagandists leaped at the opportunity to label a candidate who spoke out against these demonstrations a "racist."

This labor tactic resulted in one of the most despicable smears ever found in American politics, a letter sent to all members of the United Steelworkers of America on Oct. 21, 1966, signed by the president of that union, I. W. Abel, and two other officers.

'Racist' Smear

"Reports reaching us," read the letter, "show that many of our good union members have deserted labor's proven friends and embraced the candidacies of sworn enemies of the union. It happened in Maryland, Louisiana and Georgia. It could happen in California and Illinois and elsewhere.

"What has prompted good, reliable union men and women to do this? Apparently they have permitted their justifiable concern over recent racial rioting to affect their better judgment in choosing candidates. . . .

"We should be short-sighted indeed if we did not recognize that many of the traditional enemies of labor—from the far left and the far right—are today actively agitating and exploiting the unrest that exists among Negroes and other minority groups.

"These forces are not trying to solve our racial problems; they are trying to magnify them. They oppose men like Governor Brown in California and Senator Douglas of Illinois because they don't want solutions. They want turmoil and hope to create it by arousing Negro against white, and white against Negro.

"If our members fall for this engineered confusion and allow the extremists to trick them into voting like the Birchers or Communists would like them to vote, they will only help defeat your friends and allies in Congress on November 8."

Put more simply, the Steelworkers' leadership was saying that either you vote for the union-backed candidate or else you are a racist, or, perhaps, a "Bircher" or a Communist.

Also note that the letter mentions no "racist" candidate by name, alluding only to an evil "they" who were opposing Brown and Douglas. This tactic is, of course, much more effective than criticizing the record of Ronald Reagan and Charles Percy directly.

COPE's Nazi Charge

This attack by the United Steelworkers was seconded by the skilled propagandists at COPE. "Your enemies are trying to throw dust in your eyes," they wrote in the bi-weekly *Political Memo* two weeks before the election. "Extremists, hate-peddlers and the fear-ridden are trying to blind you to the real issues of the 1966 political campaign. They're counting on something called 'backlash.'

"They're trying to tell you the issue is hate, or fear, or prejudice, or property, or who shares your neighborhood. . . .

"Don't be blinded by the dust-throwers of prejudice. Don't risk your progress and your welfare. Vote for candidates who know the real issues and who have proved, when the chips are down, they're your friends."

And in another part of the same *Memo* the reader is asked "Who really is behind the race hate injected into the 1966 campaign?" Quickly the answer is supplied: "It's all the groups ranged against you and your welfare and your union—the John Birch Society and other extremists, the racists, the 'right-to-workers' and their allies. . . .

"It's happened before. Real issues have been hidden in smokescreens of lies and propaganda. . . . It happened only 30 years ago in Germany."

Such is the demagogic reasoning of COPE's propagandists: A supporter of right-to-work laws is a racist or is a neo-Nazi; and they're all behind the Republican party.

Evidence of labor's increasing ties with the Democratic party was found in abundance in this year's election, despite organized support of a handful of left-of-center GOP candidates. Four days before Election Day, the United Auto Workers took out a full-page advertisement in several metropolitan newspapers which endorsed the Democratic party *in toto:*

"America has moved forward to unparalleled prosperity [the ad read]. Month after month after month since Jan. 20, 1961—the day John F. Kennedy took the oath of office—the economy has continued to expand to record-breaking levels.

"Despite this amazing performance, there are those who today urge a return to the Republican policies in effect *before* Jan. 20, 1961."

Law Violation?

The advertisement went on to present a purported comparison of the Eisenhower and Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, ending its plea for support of the Democrats by saying:

"The Republican Administration gave America economic stagnation, high unemployment and serious inflation.

"Under the Democratic administrations, America has enjoyed greater prosperity, uninterrupted economic expansion, vastly improved living standards, lower unemployment, more jobs and far less inflation."

(This advertisement, paid for by general union funds, would appear to be in direct violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act which forbids any business corporation or labor union from directly supporting a political party with money from its treasury. While the ad did conclude by admonishing "Vote Your Conscience, But Be Sure to Vote," this feigned impartiality could hardly conceal the direct support of the entire Democratic party evident elsewhere in the text.)

Tallying the Losses

And so, after two years of propagandizing, planning, organizing and fund-raising, the votes were counted on November 9 and, as COPE reported in its post-election *Memo,* "for liberals, the statistics of 1966 are appalling." In terms of congressional power, it is the statistics, and not the loss of big-name pro-laborites, which are most significant, and the politicos at COPE must have been truly appalled at what they saw in the newspapers the morning after:

- 152 out of the 333 House candidates endorsed by COPE went down in defeat (in 1964 COPE elected 237 out of 354 endorsed House members)
- 13 of the 22 Senate candidates backed by COPE were defeated, while in 1964 24 out of 30 COPE favorites had been elected.
- In the Senate, COPE lost two members (Douglas of Illinois and Neuberger of Oregon, who retired) who had 100 per cent "right" COPE voting records, and another (Ross Bass of Tennessee defeated in a primary) who had an 83 per cent rating.
- In House contests, 36 incumbent representatives with a COPE rating of 75 per cent or higher were defeated.
- 33 representatives who had voted for repeal of Section 14b of Taft-Hartley, labor's "Big Issue" in the 89th Congress, were not returned by the voters (repeal passed the House by only 221 to 203).
- 30 of the 59 liberal incumbent House members running in marginal districts listed as "make-or-break" contests by COPE were defeated.
- Individual unions did no better than COPE, with 18 of the 37 House mem-

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bers specifically endorsed by the United Steelworkers going down in defeat, and in Michigan five incumbent liberal congressmen strongly backed by the United Auto Workers did not make it back to Washington.

Retirements Hurt

In addition to the sizable losses suffered by organized labor in the general election contests for House seats, another batch of strongly pro-labor liberal representatives had been lost earlier through primary defeat, retirement, or failure while seeking higher office; these included Charles Weltner in Georgia (retired), James Morrison in Louisiana (primary defeat), Carlton Sickles in Maryland (primary), Robert Duncan in Oregon (defeated for Senate) and Teno Roncalio in Wyoming (defeated for Senate). Each of these congressmen had COPE voting ratings of over 75 per cent for the 89th Congress, with Sickles chalking up a perfect 100 per cent score.

Labor's biggest—not to mention most "appalling"—losses were most definitely in the House of Representatives, where one astute observer now sees 210 to 215 conservative members whereas before the November voting there were 216 strongly pro-labor liberals.

As large as the setbacks in the House races were, the most dramatic blows to the labor political machine came in gubernatorial and senatorial races in the states of California, Michigan and Illinois.

Reagan Top Target

California's Republican gubernatorial candidate, Ronald Reagan, was organized labor's No. 1 political target in 1966. The labor effort against the former actor was united, intense and well-heeled: COPE devoted an entire issue of its *Political Memo* is a smear attack on Reagan, and practically every issue of the *Memo* since Reagan announced his candidacy contained some barb thrown his way; the California State COPE raised its per capita member head tax from three to five cents to build up its war chest; the national AFL-CIO sent incumbent Gov. Pat Brown $75,000 in the last days of the campaign to rescue his faltering effort, and all in all it is estimated that labor unions contributed $1.5 million to Brown's treasury.

Unprecedented steps were taken by individual unions to launch a combined effort in seeking Brown's re-election. In California, three of the state's largest and most powerful unions—two of which have been booted from the national AFL-CIO—joined forces to defeat Reagan; in this alliance, the International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO) linked up with Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters Union (voted out of the AFL-CIO in 1957 because of corruption and racketeering) and Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen (kicked out in 1950 because of Communist control). As IAM President Roy Siemiller said: "California politics is at least partly responsible for the renewed effort by organized labor to unite their forces. . . [the possibility] of electing a reactionary like Ronald Reagan as governor of one of the nation's most progressive states is of great concern to us all."

Push for Douglas

In the upper echelons of the AFL-CIO, president George Meany appointed a top-level committee of federation executive council members to personally watch over the fortunes of Pat Brown and gather in the labor vote for the two-term governor. The labor bosses selected to run the Golden State's labor campaign were Joe Keenan, secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Paul Jennings, head of the Electrical Workers Union; Paul Hall, top man at the Seafarers Union; and the Machinists' Siemiller.

In the face of this mammoth labor effort, Ronald Reagan won by close to one million votes.

A blue-ribbon committee of labor leaders like that assigned to California was sent to Illinois to aid the campaign of long-time labor champion Sen. Paul Douglas, the 73-year-old incumbent fighting a losing battle against GOP liberal Charles Percy. The Illinois group selected by AFL-CIO chieftain Meany included Herman Kenin, president of the Musicians' Union; Richard Walsh, chief executive of the Stage Employes Union; I. W. Abel, head of the Steelworkers, and George Harrison, aged president emeritus of the Railway Clerks.

Also, as in the Reagan-Brown contest, the Washington headquarters of the AFL-CIO hotlined $75,000 to the liberal Democrat in the last vital days of his campaign. And the efforts of individual unions on behalf of the white-maned, hulking Douglas were considerable, with the United Auto Workers donating over $5,000 from its treasuries and running a full-page paean to "The Giant from Illinois" in the March 1966 issue of its publication, *Solidarity*.

Michigan Upset

With the labor forces thus ranged against him despite his own liberalism and pro-labor position, Chuck Percy won his race, cutting Douglas' plurality in the union stronghold of Chicago by 336,971 votes over the incumbent's margin in his 1960 successful campaign.

Organized labor's most stunning loss, however, came in the Michigan senatorial race, where G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams lost to the interim Republican incumbent Robert Griffin—appointed by Gov. George Romney to fill out the term of the late Pat McNamara—by 200,000 votes.

Michigan's Democratic party has been ruled for 18 years by organized labor and Soapy Williams is the rulers' fair-haired boy; in 1948, when the labor forces, under the leadership of UAW President Walter Reuther and CIO chieftain Gus Scholle, solidified their control over the state Democrats, they selected the wealthy, liberal Williams as their gubernatorial candidate.

Williams took the statehouse from the GOP that year and went on to serve a full six terms in Lansing as the liberal-labor juggernaut increased in size, effectiveness and power, providing its gubernatorial front-man with ever-increasing margins of victory.

In 1960 Williams stepped down to accept President Kennedy's appointment as assistant secretary of state for African affairs, and two years later the Republicans finally recaptured the Michigan statehouse behind ex-auto salesman Romney. Early this year the Scholle-Reuther combine persuaded Williams to leave the Dark Continent and return to the Motor State to take the lead in creating the hoped-for labor renaissance.

Reuther Weaker

Rank-and-filers were reminded in union publications that "just about everyone in Michigan benefits today from laws first proposed, then fought bitterly hard for, and finally won by the man who served 12 years as a Democratic governor. . . " and were told that "Soapy Williams is a giant of a public servant who'll be a giant of a senator."

Meanwhile his GOP opponent, Griffin, was attacked as "anti-labor, anti-progress, anti-city and anti-people" and was barred admission by Scholle to a meeting of Michigan COPE where Williams was speaking, with one union delegate shoving Griffin from the door saying, "I don't think you should try to force your way in here; I've heard all your views and I'm not interested in hearing them again today."

As the votes rolled in on election eve, Walter Reuther and Gus Scholle found they could no longer push the button on the labor machine and produce instant, automated victories.

And even though they could take some solace in the fact that Griffin's success was due in part to the substantial coattails of Gov. Romney (which also helped pull in five new GOP congressmen and a Republican state legislature, all opposed by labor), this could not ease the pain over seeing White Knight Williams dumped by a man who once had the audacity to co-author a bill (the Landrum-Griffin Act) which guaranteed union members some degree of democracy.

The well-oiled UAW-CIO political machine of the '50s had developed a few clinks and clunks, it seemed. "The [Democratic] party and COPE organizations just didn't get the troops out," said Democrat Leon Cohan, deputy state attorney general, adding, "besides, their methods were archaic in this electronic age."

Plans for '68

This sentiment, plus COPE's melodramatic pronouncement that the "appalling statistics" of 1966 meant that "The 'Great Society' drama has closed after a two-year run," were not shared by all union political leaders. COPE director Al Barkan, while admitting that "we took a terrible belting," tends to view the election more as a reaction against the programs and policies of the Johnson Administration than those of organized labor. "I don't know of any place where labor was an issue in the election," says Barkan. "I don't think the election swung on any labor issues at all."

(Reed Larson, chief spokesman for the National Right to Work Committee, however, disagrees: "In every race where repeal of 14b was a major issue," he said in a press conference, "voters rejected candidates who favored repeal.")

Whether or not they see the election results as a temporary setback or—in the words of a Machinists official—"a catastrophe," it is not in the nature of organized labor to accept political defeat as a permanent condition and a signal to throw in the towel. Next time they will just try harder.

Sounding the battle charge on the 1968 elections was the COPE *Political Memo* sent out a few days after the elections. Its entire front page was occupied by the headline: "The Time to Start for '68 Is *Now*," and inside (with the headline repeated on page two) the refrain—sure to be repeated over and over in one form or another by labor propagandists—was first trumpeted:

"The key lesson, though, is that there can be no let-up in politics, and that the 1968 elections started the day the 1966 elections ended. If that lesson has been learned well by liberal forces, we can look for a comeback next time."

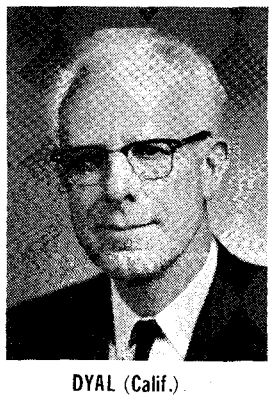
Conservative Advice

Fighting the labor forces every inch of the way will be a young organization which racked up impressive victories in the '66 congressional elections, the three-year-old, Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC).

While BIPAC does not have (nor ever will have, thanks to federal campaign laws favoring labor unions) the manpower resources and the automatic financial lode (through members' dues) which COPE has readily at hand, the New York-based group did contribute to the election of 71 of the 94 House candidates and 10 of the 12 Senate hopefuls it supported. If BIPAC cannot donate manpower and money to the degree that labor can, it at least is able to impart organizational skill and local business support to deserving candidates in amounts sufficient to give the COPE machine some rigorous competition in the days to come.

It will take all the help the fledgling BIPAC and other conservative organizations can give to frustrate the political ambitions of organized labor again in 1968. This was a Republican year, the harvest of which will force labor to take a defensive position, protecting the victories in the last Congress, until November 1968 rolls around. Come that time and the organizational plans now being carefully laid in COPE's Washington headquarters could cause a victory wave large enough to wash away the "appalling" losses of 1966. But not if the conservatives also start now.

These Opponents of Right to Work —and 28 Others—Will Not Be Back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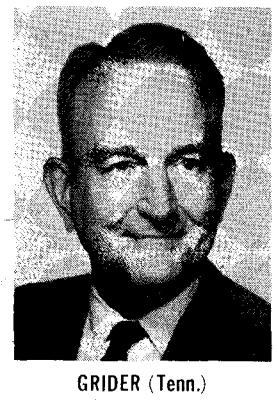
GRIDER (Tenn.)

KING (Utah)

SENNER (Ariz.)

SCHMIDHAUSER (Iowa)

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Angels of Death

FDA Has Become a Threat to U.S. Health and Welfare

Reprinted with permission from Barron's *National Business and Financial Weekly*, Nov. 14, 1966

"Last April the Food and Drug Administration front-paged an announcement that within the past year there were 'passed on to the Bureau of Regulatory Compliance a number of complaints involving nearly one-third of the membership of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association.' A few weeks later FDA announced that 'last year one-third of the members of the PMA were found to have been in violation of the advertising regulations.' . . .

"On September 9 we received a copy of FDA's list of alleged violators from a representative of the press. If this is the list which was used as the basis for the charges twice leveled against PMA members, and we think it is, we believe the public has been misled. The list indicates that ads involving only nine PMA members—fewer than 5 per cent—were forwarded to the office of the General Counsel during the last two-year period. Of all the ads reviewed, apparently only 89 were even questioned by the medical evaluators. . . .

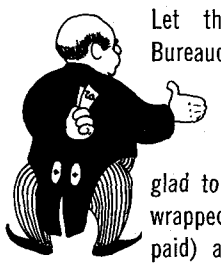
"In sum, one-third of an accused PMA membership becomes a lesser fraction. And, within that, lesser infractions. And, among those, a preponderance of allegations, not violations. Isn't it time to package our government in the truth, along with our cornflakes? Isn't it fair to require that an agency which demands the truth deliver the truth?"

A BRAND NEW KIND OF GAME

A quick-action game . . . tests your skill against bureaucracy as well as competition . . . and plenty of fun whether you end up prosperous or bankrupt . . . and it doesn't take too much time to find out!

ADMINISTRATION

THE GAME THE ENTIRE NATION IS PLAYING!



Let the Administration Bureaucrat play Santa Claus for you this Christmas . . . he will be glad to ship games (gift wrapped and postage paid) anywhere in U.S.

Administration is a full color, high quality board game in which the elements of skill and chance are cleverly combined to show the effects of a controlled economy on business and industry. The game makes an excellent gift for teens or adults.

1 game $5.98
2-10 games ..... $4.98 each
11-20 games ..... $3.98 each
Write for club fund-raising rates.

ADMINISTRATION CO.
2910 CENTENARY, SHREVEPORT, LA.

Ship _____ Games @ $_____ each.

Enclosed is check for $_____ to cover game, postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

10-DAY MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

The recent statements by C. Joseph Stetler, president of PMA, commanded scant attention in the press. Yet it was plainly a remarkable speech. Unlike most spokesmen for regulated industry, who tend to talk softly, Mr. Stetler took a notably hard line.

His comments on federal drug regulation bristle with uncompromising quotes like "shabby burst of candor," and "legislative tripe." Moreover, the organization which he heads has gone beyond phrase-making. In early fall, PMA brought suit in U.S. District Court to challenge the FDA's newly issued rules governing the sale of mineral food supplements and vitamins.

The week of November 7, Upjohn Co., scoring the agency's arbitrary behavior, abruptly withdrew all advertising from professional journals. By word and deed alike, the drug companies finally have begun to stand up for their rights.

On Wall Street, which has grown used to swallowing bureaucratic abuse, the news ought to come as a tonic. It should prove even more welcome to Main Street. Since the ill-conceived Kefauver Amendments to the Food, Drug and Cosmetics Act were hastily passed four years ago, the industry (and U.S. pharmaceutical progress) have suffered from an excess of regulatory zeal. New drugs coming to market have fallen to the lowest level in a generation.

Today, FDA, in the doctrinaire hands of its new commissioner, Dr. James L. Goddard, has become a clear and present danger to the nation's health and welfare. The "Great Society" has never been philosophically sound; now its sickness threatens to spread far and wide.

To judge by a mounting weight of evidence, the ravages already are grave. According to Paul de Haen, Inc., authoritative trade source, the total number of new drugs put on the nationwide market in 1965 declined to 112, from 157 in 1964. Since the turn of the year, the marketing anemia has grown worse.

DON'T ARGUE About Today's "Mess"

Do it the easy, effective way. Hand 'em a little card. It will give them a chuckle as it also gives them an "injection." Send name, address, $1. and this ad to 'Tain't Funny but True, Drawer 72, Whittier, Calif. 90608, for **AN ASSORTMENT OF THESE CLEVER** (that's why they're effective) **LITTLE CARDS.**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

CREATIVE PUBLIC RELATIONS

CHATHAM COMMUNICATIONS INC.

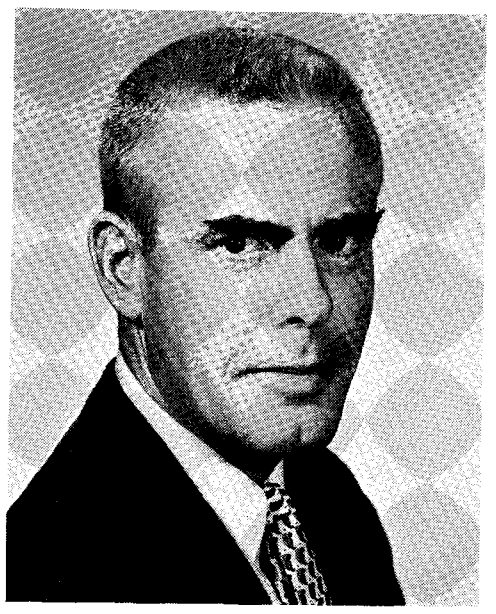
411 - Seventh Ave., Pgh Pa. 15219
412 471-3113

° "Telling The Free Enterprise Story"

Affiliates in Principal Cities

In the same vein, the number of single chemical entities, far and away the most significant category of new drugs, has fallen from 14 to four. The slump reflects no lack of research effort by the industry. On the contrary, de Haen points out that in the first half of 1966 more than a score of single chemical entities originating in the United States were put on sale in Europe. Since 1962, indeed over 3,000 New Drug Applications have been filed with FDA, two-thirds of which are pending.

Hence, as of a recent count, the American public has been deprived of Tolonase, a hypoglycemic agent; Drenisone, a corticoid; and Edecrin, a diuretic for the treatment of edema. New drugs barred from domestic distribution also include a long-acting tranquilizer and a specific for gout. Baxter Laboratories' Choloxin, which reduces serum cholesterol levels, has been available abroad but not at home, pending FDA approval, for over half a decade.



Dr. James Goddard, commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, is an activist who threatens to put even more damaging controls on the drug industry.

Since the thalidomide tragedy, when an FDA staff member gained fame, in effect, by doing nothing, indecision and delay have become standard operating procedure. Under the regime of Dr. Goddard, authoritarianism and a thinly coated hostility toward the pharmaceutical industry lately have compounded the mischief.

Since taking office in January, FDA's chief has banned the sale of hundreds of antibiotic cough lozenges as ineffective; removed from the market Hoffman-La Roche's Madricidin, a cold remedy, and Ciba's Elipten, an anti-epilepsy drug, on grounds of lack of safety or efficacy; and urged doctors to prescribe "short-acting" sulfonamide compounds.

Goddard's rash of forays last spring elicited a pained response from the head of the American Medical Association:

"The manner in which the agency suddenly seizes drugs and accompanies this activity with alarming language tends to create an atmosphere of hysteria. It will inevitably exert a deleterious influence on the effective use of drugs by the physician."

Undeterred, FDA recently has aggravated matters. Besides challenging efficacy or safety, it lately has taken to seizing drug shipments by companies which allegedly fail to meet its advertising standards. The latter, by the way, contain such vague and subjective language as "fair balance," "brief summary" and "relative degree of prominence," terms over which reasonable men might disagree.

Dr. Goddard, however, nurses no qualms and brooks no dissent. Alleging that information placed in the Physicians' Desk Reference violated the law, FDA, through the Department of Justice, recently brought criminal actions against Abbott Laboratories, Ciba Pharmaceutical and Upjohn. Last month the agency also seized a shipment of Lincocin, a major antibiotic recently introduced by Upjohn, on charges that an ad in the AMA *Journal* failed to "fairly show the effectiveness of the drug."

Upjohn bitterly protested. "We had no prior notice of specific objections from FDA, even though variations of the ads had been running for many months," declared President R. T. Parfet Jr. Indeed, Mr. Parfet subsequently learned that FDA took action while he was discussing the matter with Dr. Goddard in the latter's office.

In its proposed restrictions on food supplements and vitamins, finally, FDA has launched an assault on the scientific method.

For example, the agency proposes that all packages carry the following legend: "Vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts by the foods we eat. The food and nutrition board of the National Research Council recommends that dietary needs be satisfied by foods."

This statement, retorted Dr. W. H. Sebrell Jr., chairman of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council committee on recommended dietary allowances, "is objectionable, misleading and . . . creates a false impression." Dr. Sebrell went on to accuse FDA of widespread distortion of his committee's report.

Fortified by the support of the scientific community, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, as noted, has taken its case to court. By resisting what it flatly labels "pharmaceutical dictatorship," PMA also has struck a blow in behalf of the public's well-being.

What the nation already owes the drug makers can never be repaid. According to a study by Arthur D. Little, Inc., the decline in the death rate since 1935 has allowed over four million people of working age to survive. Two million would have fallen victim to just four diseases—tuberculosis, syphilis, influenza and pneumonia. Viewed in this light, the medicine men of FDA, all unwittingly perhaps, are angels of death. The 90th Congress should clip their wings.

□ □ □

DESPERATION—Have you noticed all those photos showing taxpayers holding *both* of LBJ's hands? It's one way of keeping him out of their pockets.

Patronize Our Advertisers This Christmas

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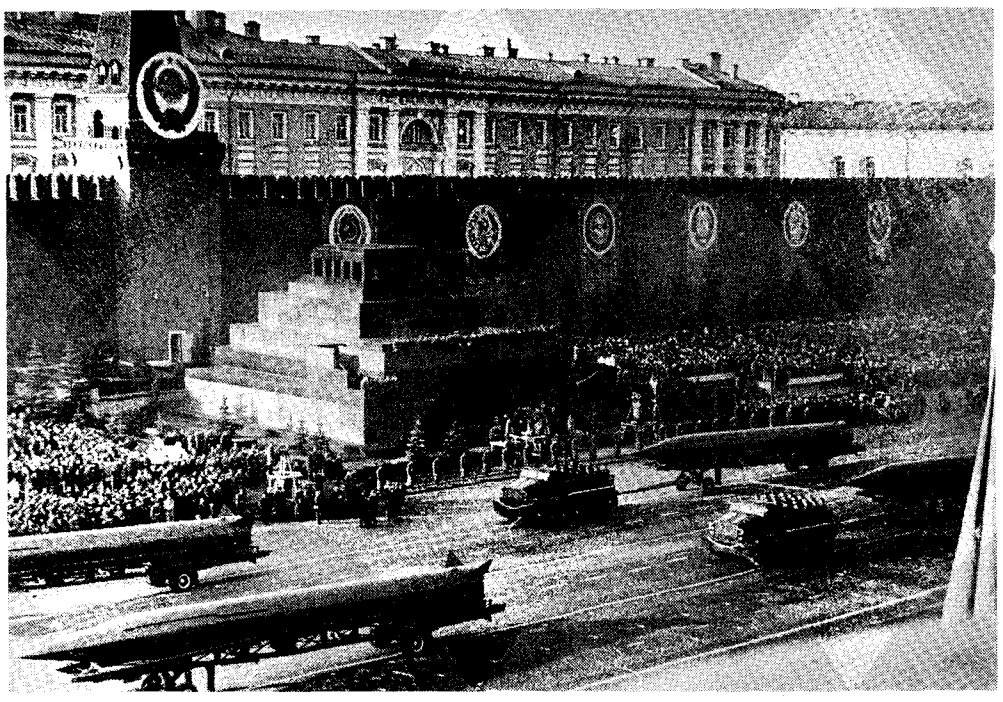

Soviet ICBMs like these being paraded through Moscow are the launching vehicles for the military satellites over the United States.

Russians Test Satellites With Break-Ups Over U.S.

From the Allen-Scott Report

There is nothing accidental about the recent breakup of Russian satellites over the United States. Their shattering into a number of pieces was a carefully planned and controlled Soviet military-space experiment.

U.S. interception devices located near Russia's borders picked up radio signals from ground transmitters in the Soviet Union to the orbiting satellites.

While intelligence authorities are still piecing together information on the sinister military implications of these Soviet tests, the North American Air Defense Command already has significant data indicating that Russia has scored a new nuclear-space breakthrough.

The development of MIRV—multi-warhead independent revolving vehicle—is strongly indicated in the Soviets' experiments, according to this analysis. In non-technical terms, the Russians apparently have succeeded in separating in flight at a pre-determined time and location a "cluster of satellites," each capable of carrying a nuclear warhead.

Such a menacing accomplishment would enable the Soviet to launch a satellite set to reach a certain point over the United States and then direct nuclear bombs at targets across the country from New York to California.

Indicative of the range and danger of this possibility is the fact that fragments of the two splintered satellites were found in New York City, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Miami, Chicago, Omaha, San Francisco and Houston.

These dire Russian experiments are only part of the Reds' satellite testing over the United States that is being intently followed.

The North American Air Defense Command and other space-tracking exercises have intercepted two-way radio transmissions via a large Soviet communications satellite now orbiting over the United States. These coded messages are believed to be transmitted by "illegals"—Soviet agents—operating in the United States, Canada and Mexico.

These "illegals," who usually use couriers or short-wave radio to transmit information, are believed to be testing the use of satellites as a speedier and safer method of contacting the "Center," as their headquarters on the outskirts of Moscow is termed.

As a result of information given by Col. Oleg Penkovskiy, the Russian intelligence officer who worked for the United States until apprehended and executed, Pentagon and other authorities have been on the alert for the possible use of satellites for this purpose since 1962.

One Penkovskiy report disclosed that a special room was set up in the Moscow headquarters of the GRU—military intelligence organization—to handle the satellite messages from agents in foreign countries.

The new espionage communication system was considered so promising by Kremlin leaders that Gen. V. S. Sokolov, chief of strategic intelligence, was made head of it.

In addition to these satellite experiments, the Soviet has also in the past six months succeeded in altering the trajectory of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) after it was launched over the Pacific.

Members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, briefed on this new Russian missile development, were told it could nullify proposed U.S. anti-missile missile defenses. The operation of these weapons is now based on calculation of the normal curve of their trajectory.

"If this report is correct, and I have no reason to question it," said Rep. L. Mendel Rivers (D.-S.C.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, "then Russia has achieved a major missile breakthrough. We aren't even experimenting in this field."

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Stumbling Toward Wage Controls

Basic changes needed in federal labor laws

By HENRY HAZLITT

Unless we make changes in our labor laws that no politician in office is seriously proposing, we are heading toward a national labor crisis within the next year or two.

The present factual situation was ably summed up in a recent article in the New York *Times* by A. H. Raskin. President Johnson, when he intervened in the airlines strike last summer, began a retreat from his magic guideline figure of 3.2 per cent for wage increases. His emergency board began by offering the machinists a little more than that. When the offer was spurned, Lyndon Johnson's personal intervention fumbled the increase up to 5 per cent before the strike was settled.

Of course, other strategic unions then demanded at least as much. The 5 per cent figure has provided a pattern for settlements and prospective settlements covering at least a million workers in electrical manufacturing and telephones. A couple of weeks ago the same figure was incorporated into an agreement for 145,000 railroad trainmen.

Even this is not the end. Simply by embracing the Administration's own logic, the unions can argue that if they are "entitled" to an annual increase of 5 per cent with stable prices, then with consumer prices up 3.5 per cent in the last 12 months they must be entitled to 8.5 per cent.

Even more potent than these statistical arguments is competition among unions. A union leader does not add to his prestige simply by getting his own union as much as others, but by proving that he can do better. In coming months James R. Hoffa of the teamsters' union and Walter R. Reuther of the automobile workers will try to demonstrate precisely this, reckless of the consequences to the economy.

Raskin, contemplating such possibilities, thinks that to forestall them, "the country may have to face mandatory wage and price controls next year—despite the intense present reluctance of anyone in high office even to contemplate that politically distasteful eventuality."

But what is really wrong with mandatory wage and price controls is not that they are "politically distasteful," but that they would be politically and economically disastrous.

And yet their possibility is seriously contemplated simply because no one is willing to consider a far less drastic legal remedy. This is merely to re-examine or repeal laws that Congress passed hastily and emotionally a little more than 30 years ago and now regards as sacrosanct.

The theory behind these laws was that strikes would practically stop and justice would prevail if only Congress would strengthen the bargaining power of unions and take the major risks out of strikes.

So consider what happens now in a typical labor dispute. If a union makes an exorbitant demand, the employer cannot simply refuse to meet it. He is *compelled* by the Taft-Hartley Act to keep "bargaining" with that union and no one else.

If he announces that he will regard strikers as having quit their jobs, and will carry on his business by hiring others to replace them, his plant will be surrounded by pickets to intimidate anyone who thinks of passing through. But because of the legal roadblocks set up by the Norris-LaGuardia Act he will probably be unable to get injunctive relief in the courts even from vandalism and violence.

But ironically, when this one-sided legal set-up leads to a wage-price spiral and a strike crisis, "liberals," instead of asking whether there may not be something wrong with the premises of existing federal labor laws, suggest the totalitarian remedy of mandatory wage and price controls.

This is already the sad fate of Great Britain today. Are we, too, stumbling toward it?

(Copyright 1966, Los Angeles *Times*)

☐ ☐ ☐

NEW RECORD—At the end of fiscal 1966 the federal government had 2,758,811 civilian employes on its payroll—highest total since the peak World War II years, a House manpower subcommittee disclosed recently. The figure represented an increase of 230,870 workers over a year earlier, or a 9.1 per cent hike. Only one government agency, the Federal Aviation Agency, showed a decrease from 1965 to 1966.

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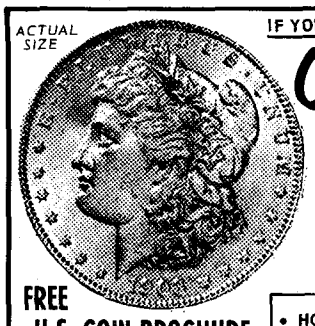

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About the Survey

The chart at the right, prepared by the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly,* shows in dramatic terms what a great victory conservatives achieved on November 8—especially in the House. As the figures indicate, the new programs of the "Great Society" should be in deep trouble in the 90th Congress.

To determine the stands of the members of the new Congress, *CQ* analyzed 1956-66 rollcall votes on a variety of key issues, conducted a mail poll of incumbents on issues where rollcall votes were not available and surveyed all challengers for Senate and House seats by mail and telephone in a cooperative undertaking with the National Broadcasting Co., which programmed all the figures in its computers for election night analysis.

Perhaps the most important statistic in the chart is the figure showing the enormous gain made by the "Conservative Coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats in the House.

To determine the likely conservative coalition stands of non-incumbents, they were queried on the stands on key issues such as rent supplements, the poverty program, the Teacher Corps, "demonstration cities," repeal of 14b, minimum wage increases and unemployment compensation reforms. Those supporting the conservative position on 70 per cent of the issues or more were classified as members of the coalition.

In the Senate, as the chart shows, there were no significant changes. Thus conservatives must depend on House members to slow down, or, hopefully, cut back, Big Government. But, obviously, the opportunity is at hand.

As *Congressional Quarterly* points out, however, "Subsequent national and international events and lobbying activity by both the Administration and independent groups, may, of course, sway the current position of a number of members."

Conservatives must start making plans now to be sure their voice is heard by these new congressmen—and the old members, who may now be having second thoughts because of the election outcome. In January, as Congress convenes, *Human Events* will again publish a guide to letter writing to help you let your congressmen know your views. In the meantime, the best thing conservatives can do is to make sure they—and their friends—keep informed on all the important issues.

□ □ □

REP. WILLIAM J. RANDALL (D.-Mo.) has polled his constituents and discovered overwhelming opposition to many of the programs, foreign and domestic, of the Johnson Administration. Randall found that three out of four voters in his district favor cutting back or abolishing the anti-poverty program and that 75.9 per cent advocate a reduction in non-defense government spending.

□ □ □

REP. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER (R.-Calif.) cites pay hikes of several hundred per cent given Job Corps employes in support of his charge that the Administration itself is violating the President's highly touted wage guidelines. The GOP lawmaker reports that one anti-poverty official went from $1,800 a year to $9,000 when he joined the Job Corps. Another received a pay hike from $1,095 to $6,000. "There seems to be no question that poverty is cured for those on the poverty payroll," Younger noted. "Mr. Shriver is quoted as saying that poverty in this country can be cured by 1976 and one wonders whether the cure is to have everyone on his payroll at that time."

Positions of Members in New Congress

Domestic Policy

	HOUSE			SENATE		
	90th Congress	Net Change	89th Congress	90th Congress	Net Change	89th Congress
Conservative Coalition						
Conservative	206	+35	171	36	− 2	38
Liberal	167	−39	206	45	− 2	47
Middle of Road	62	+ 4	58	19	+ 4	15
Total	435		435	100		100
Presidential Support/Domestic Issues						
Favor	202	−45	247	57	− 2	59
Oppose	149	+39	110	16	− 2	18
Other	84	+ 6	78	27	+ 4	23
Total	435		435	100		100
New "Great Society" Bills						
Favor	177	−41	218	56	0	56
Oppose	217	+22	195	38	− 2	40
Other	41	+19	22	6	+ 2	4
Total	435		435	100		100
Rent Supplements						
Favor	173	−40	213	50	− 1	51
Oppose	238	+30	208	48	− 1	49
Other	24	+10	14	2	+ 2	0
Total	435		435	100		100
Poverty						
Support Program	191	−49	240	52	− 1	53
Favor Cuts	225	+34	191	41	− 2	43
Other	19	+15	4	7	+ 3	4
Total	435		435	100		100
Open Housing						
Favor	205	−29	234	54	− 2	56
Oppose	216	+17	199	44	+ 1	43
Other	14	+12	2	2	+ 1	1
Total	435		435	100		100
Antiinflation Tax Measures						
For Higher Taxes	189	−22	211	46	− 5	51
Against Higher Taxes	139	+25	114	11	− 1	12
Other	107	− 3	110	43	+ 6	37
Total	435		435	100		100
Antiinflation Spending Cuts						
For Less Spending	309	+20	289	57	+ 2	55
Against Spending Cuts	92	−20	112	27	− 2	29
Other	34	+ 0	34	16	0	16
Total	435		435	100		100
Labor Programs						
Favor	188	−33	221	54	− 1	55
Oppose	227	+19	208	41	− 2	43
Other	20	+14	6	5	+ 3	2
Total	435		435	100		100
Ethics Laws						
Favor	279	+16	263	50	+ 3	47
Oppose	35	+ 2	33	16	0	16
Other	121	−18	139	34	− 3	37
Total	435		435	100		100

Foreign Policy

	HOUSE			SENATE		
	90th Congress	Net Change	89th Congress	90th Congress	Net Change	89th Congress
Viet Nam War						
"Hawks"	151	+30	121	20	0	20
"Doves"	58	+ 3	55	28	+2	26
Administration Supporters /or Nondissenters	226	−33	259	52	− 2	54
Total	435		435	100		100
Red China						
Tougher Line	96	+15	81	13	− 1	14
Softer Line	58	− 2	60	28	+ 2	26
Administration Supporters /or Nondissenters	281	−13	294	59	− 1	60
Total	435		435	100		100

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New Twist in Old Dominion

Conservative Republicans score in Virginia

By GRAHAM WINGATE

The winds of political change in Virginia, proclaimed by the commentators after the state's Democratic primary, shifted abruptly November 8, wiping out that party's four liberal congressional candidates and giving unprecedented majorities to conservatives.

In the two Senate races, the Democratic nominees, Harry F. Byrd and William Spong, won as expected, but neither one ran as a liberal and both were careful to do nothing during the campaign that would anger conservatives. It was in four House races that a true liberal-conservative confrontation took place and where the results certainly point to a trend:

• W. Pat Jennings, a six-term House Democrat who had become a symbol of liberalism in the Old Dominion, was soundly defeated by conservative former Rep. William C. Wampler.

• State legislator George C. Rawlings Jr., an unabashed liberal who gained national attention with his primary defeat of House Rules Committee Chairman Howard Worth Smith, took a 13,500-vote beating at the hands of conservative Republican William L. Scott.

• Republican Rep. Richard H. Poff, one of only a handful of congressmen who merited a 100 per cent ACA index rating in the last session, received an unprecedented 81 per cent of the vote against former Roanoke Mayor Murray A. Stoller.

• Another GOP congressman, Joel T. Broyhill, an early presidential supporter of Barry Goldwater, fought off what the Virginia press billed as the challenge of his career by an easy 16,500 votes. His opponent, one-time New York Republican Clive DuVal, boasted that he had switched parties the second night of the 1964 Republican National Convention.

Jennings and Rawlings had provided much of the leadership responsible for the increase of liberal influence within the state's Democratic party. In 1964 they personally led a Democratic state convention rebellion against the late Sen. Harry F. Byrd and gained an endorsement for Lyndon Johnson. And Jennings had made no secret of his ambition to oust the relatively conservative Democratic administration in Richmond with a liberal one headed by himself.

What makes the four GOP House victories even more astonishing is the geography of the districts involved.

The coal mining counties of the 9th District are in the heart of the Appalachian poverty belt and Jennings, a member of the powerful Ways and Means Committee, had been credited with channeling millions upon millions in federal funds into the district.

His campaign was based on elaborate charts prepared for each locality in the district showing what the area had enjoyed in federal handouts for dams, post offices, schools and the like.

"The deficit spending of the Johnson Administration," Republican Wampler retorted, "has bounced back in its face. The inflation of prices you face every day proves that." He warned the small farmers, miners, factory workers and housewives in the district that their problems had taken second place to the gubernatorial ambitions of Jennings and he supported a more aggressive foreign policy and the Dirksen reapportionment amendment aimed at countering the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision.

Jennings and Wampler had faced each other twice before, in 1954 and 1956. Wampler had just turned 26 when he was elected to Congress in 1952, several hundred votes ahead of the Eisenhower ticket. He established a record of fiscal soundness and had every reason to expect a long tenure in the House.

But the political methods of the so-called "fighting 9th" handed down from generation to generation in the rough mountain country have long produced strange results.

Jennings, who was a county sheriff, challenged Wampler in 1954 and defeated him by 999 votes in an election filled with irregularities. Wampler charged the election had been rigged by ballot stuffing in backwoods precincts. They were pitted in a rematch in 1956, but the conservative Wampler found little comfort running on the record of the Eisenhower Administration and Jennings widened the margin of defeat to 7,000.

Jennings then became a political power in the district, turning back Republican challenges by lop-sided margins of 12,000 to 15,000 each year. One of the political traditions of the district, however, was abolished with the end of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections.

Democrats with unlimited financial support from labor had become masters of the electorate by bulk payment of poll taxes. Without the poll tax, Jennings lost a sizable portion of his power base and Republicans led by Wampler registered 6,000 voters, compared to only 2,000 new Democratic registrants.

Wampler, who, though balding, had not lost the campaign touch of his youth, traveled through every hollow in the district. He emerged with a new name—"the bald eagle of the Cumberlands"—and an upset victory by a comfortable 7,000-vote margin over his opponent.

Broyhill's district, the 10th, is in suburban Washington, and a large portion of its residents are federal employes. Its state legislators are the most liberal in the General Assembly, but, though Democrats have pulled no punches in their attempts to defeat Broyhill, their efforts have always fallen short.

This year, however, Broyhill, who never has hidden his affection for the Byrd organization in Virginia, was forced to run on a ticket with a Republican moderate who was opposing the son of the beloved Harry Flood Byrd.

The liberal DuVal astutely adopted a "moderate" image. He cited that he was the younger Byrd's running mate and thereby deserved support of conservative Democrats. But he blasted Broyhill's votes against Medicare, federal aid to education and the "Great Society's" "War on Poverty." Broyhill proudly ran on his record and crushed DuVal and his "moderation."

Poff's 6th District is Democratic country. The district's strongest GOP territory, the city of Lynchburg and Campbell County, was taken from the district in reapportionment by the Democratic-controlled General Assembly. In the territory left, there is but a handful of Republican officeholders at the local level. But the situation presented no difficulty to the conservative Poff.

That reapportionment decision also figured in the defeat of Judge Smith, the dean of the state's congressional delegation and an ardent and able foe of Democratic administrations since New Deal times.

Some of Smith's staunchest supporters were taken from his 8th District and thousands of suburban Washington voters in Fairfax County and four heavily Negro-populated counties were added to the district in reapportionment.

Rawlings, backed by 2-to-1 majorities in those counties and unlimited financial support, much of which came from labor, defeated the 83-year-old Smith by 600 votes.

But Scott, a Fairfax lawyer, set out to avenge the Smith defeat and openly welcomed conservative Democrats to join him.

Rawlings called for an increase in the federal minimum wage expansion of Social Security and federal medical aid to the aged. He declined to back support of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartly law and spent thousands of dollars registering Negro voters and getting them to the polls.

In the latter effort he was successful. In Charles City County, which has a 66 per cent Negro population, he gained a 1,093-to-276 margin.

But Scott, a Methodist Sunday school teacher, lay leader and a former PTA president of three Fairfax schools, campaigned tirelessly in the 18 counties and the city of Fredericksburg that comprise the sprawling 8th, blasting "Johnson-Humphrey Democrats" and flatly opposing the federal schemes of his opponent.

Seventy per cent of the district's registered voters went to the polls on Election Day, and gave Scott a resounding victory.

In Rawlings and Scott there is another example of a rich man's son who turned liberal and a self-made man who became a political conservative.

Rawlings' father heads the Richmond-based Lawyers Title Insurance Corp., the largest of its kind in the nation. The younger Rawlings, who married a Richmond debutante, comes from old Virginia stock on both sides of his family. His grandfather on his mother's side was postmaster of Fredericksburg. Another ancestor, Lewis Rawlings, donated the land where Spotsylvania County's courthouse was built in 1838.

Scott's father was a West Virginia railroad engineer who was killed in a train wreck when Scott was nine years old. In 1934 at age 19, he left the depression-stricken mountains of West Virginia to seek his fortune in Washington. He put himself through college and law school while working nights as a press assistant to the Government Printing Office.

It was during these years of struggle that Scott's basic social and political philosophy of self-reliance was forged.

"The concept of bounties and subsidies and the soft cushions to life which the present Administration is attempting to provide is a far cry from the self-help and industry by which our citizens achieved success in the past.

"Changing times," he continued, "must be faced with a determination to preserve individual initiative, self-reliance and free enterprise, coupled with a sensitivity to the needs of people who are unable to help themselves."

While these avowedly conservative Republicans breezed to easy victories, a Republican moderate, Lawrence M. Traylor, who opposed conservative Democrat Harry Byrd Jr., ran far behind congressional Republican candidates and snagged a mere 37 per cent of the vote.

In his home 8th Distrcit Traylor received a mere 32,400 votes compared to 53,200 for the conservative Scott. Poff gathered 55,200 votes in the 6th and Traylor a scanty 17,050. Broyhill polled 57,700 in the northern 10th District, but Traylor could do no better than 37,100 and Wampler ran 10,000 votes ahead of Traylor in the 9th.

More voters cast ballots in the House races in those districts, furthermore, than in the senatorial races, leading to some speculation that conservative Republican voters refused to support the party's moderate candidates.

In the other Senate race, an almost solid Negro vote gave moderate William Spong an edge of 180,000 votes over his more conservative Republican opponent, James B. Ould. Spong, however, had been careful to placate conservatives. During the campaign, for example, he said he would be willing to pledge support of any measure, including the filibuster, necessary to save right-to-work legislation. Spong also pleased conservative Republicans when he declined to campaign in the 8th District with the liberal Rawlings. Among his supporters were most of the state's conservative press, including the Richmond *News Leader* and *Times Dispatch*. Thus neither his victory nor Byrd's could really be called a liberal triumph.

It was the House victories of conservatives Scott, Wampler, Poff and Broyhill that provided the real story in Virginia.

Graham Wingate is the pen name of a Virginia newsman.

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Exalting Excellence—Or Worshipping the Average?

By DR. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, Chaplain, U.S. Senate

One of the dire dangers of democracy is the worship of the average. The doctrine that all men are created equal is too often interpreted to mean that anyone who forges ahead in any realm is a traitor to the common mass from which he sprang. In a mistaken democracy there seems to be an innate horror of any kind of aristocracy, but there is an aristocracy of brains and energy.

Excellence is often something to be disdained and ridiculed. In politics one who excels in ability and knowledge is disparagingly called an "egghead." In education one who pays the price for scholarship and so is rated far above the average is called a "grind" or "square."

But while all things fair spring from the common soil, it is from the tall hills of achievement that humanity's salvation comes. The curse of democracy is conformity to the lowest common denominator.

The real rule of the people involves not a leveling down, but a lifting up. The hope of the race's future is always in those who push ahead of the crowd. Even the advancement of the so-called "common people" is in the hands of those who excel and are willing to pay the price for excellence, which usually means adding perspiration to inspiration.

In Soviet Russia, whose professed faith is in the gradual progress of the masses, the "gifted" students are those upon whose training are lavished all the facilities of the slave state. Altars erected to mediocrity threaten the very life of democracy, which goes forward always on the feet of excellence.

Former President Herbert Hoover, though dead, still speaks and is listened to by most Americans as he flashes this warning: "We are in danger of developing a cult of the common man—which means a cult of mediocrity. I have never been able to find out who this common man is. Most Americans get mad and insulted if you try calling them common. Let us remember that the great human advances have not been brought about by mediocre men and women. We believe in equal opportunity for all, but we know that this includes the opportunity to rise to leadership—in other words, to be uncommon."

The doctrine of equality which is the foundation of freedom's belief in the dignity of the individual is simply the chance for each person to make the best of what is in him to be and to do.

To be realistic we must agree that in a profound sense men and women are not equal—certainly not in practical ability. An outstanding student of economy has ventured the assertion that under any predictable social system, if riches were to fall like snow upon a windless day making a dead level everywhere, that situation would quickly change, for upon that scene of financial equality the wind of unequal ability would blow, and some fields would be drifted high and some fields blown quite bare.

Taking wealth from those who have and dividing it up with the have-nots would be no solution of economic problems.

And surely it would be contrary to history and to observable facts to declare that all men, if given the same chance, are equal in intellectual capacity.

There was once a family of nine children in New England, all with the same background and training, but in it was only one Daniel Webster. There is no way to explain that enigma. As one has put it, "Some men put the pressure on their brains and find them alert, eager and competent, and others turn on the current of their intellectual ambitions with no better consequence than blowing out a fuse."

Christianity never tries to evade the fact of individual differences. It assumes in any society the presence of the strong and the weak. It declares we who are strong ought to bear the deficiencies of the weak and not to please ourselves. After all, the vital question in the witness of any life is not the height of the flagpole, but what flag symbolizes the dedication to principles and causes of the one flying the colors.

The significant thing is not the inequality of the flagpoles, but the identity of the flag any pole can fly. But the pole nearest the ground has no reason to be jealous of the staff that seems to loom to the sky beside it. It is covetousness which eats like a cancer and spoils life's music.

The fruits of the most highly endowed are all ours, and our eyes, no matter how close to the common ground, are free to feast upon the highest and best. Every one of us in a democracy can feed our minds and steep our souls in the best that the greatest have bequeathed to all who will humbly receive riches for which no man can pay.

A great college president was remembered for something he kept repeating to every new class. Here it is: "Stay persistently in the presence of the best in each great realm of values."

No matter from what high peak of personality those values flame as a beacon light, they are yours. It was to a pretty average company of believers that Paul wrote, "All things are yours." And so, looking starward from the murky mediocrity with which perhaps we touch elbows, it is ours to listen to that further injunction of St. Paul: "Whatsoever things are excellent, think on these things!"

State Colleges in Peril

By RUSSELL KIRK

Illinois has a "state master plan" for higher education. Phase two of this plan provides for spending a billion dollars to build a complex system of state colleges between 1967 and 1973—somewhat after the California pattern.

Recently a superior sort of college president—Dr. Karl Olsson, president of North Park College and author of a very good little book, *Seven Sins and Seven Virtues*—testified before the Illinois State Board of Education, at Springfield, against this part of the "master plan." Speaking for the Federation of Independent Illinois Colleges and Universities, he remarked that "The federation is not convinced . . . that there is a demonstrable need for bricks and mortar as much as there is for placement of students in the institution of their choice."

Dr. Olsson's principal point was that in 1966 private colleges in Illinois have 9,000 places for students that are not filled. Yet while private colleges—some of them with admirable standards and histories—are allowed to wither on the vine, it is proposed to spend a billion dollars for new state institutions of learning.

Illinois is not peculiar: the plight of private colleges is even worse in Michigan and some other states. For state colleges, lavishly subsidized from public funds, usually charge students only nominal tuition, while most private colleges must charge tuition sufficient to defray the greater part of the cost of instruction. This means that many undergraduates who might like to attend a small private college simply cannot afford to do so.

How can this injustice be remedied? One way is for the state to subsidize the individual student rather than to build costly new state college campuses—in short, the state might pay part or all of a student's tuition at a private college.

This is the principle already employed in the New York State Scholarship and Scholar Incentive programs, the federal scholarships for veterans ("GI Bill of Rights"), and the Federal Higher Education Act of 1965; so indubitably such a policy would be constitutional.

Prof. Frank Brown, of DePaul University, rightly sees in the decay of private colleges a threat to the academic freedom of student and professor. He wishes—in vain, so far—that the American Association of University Professors would take a stand against state monopoly of higher education, and in favor of measures to preserve private colleges and educational diversity generally.

As he puts it, "The states violate the academic freedom of many students by using the education dollar in ways which in effect hinder the growth and development of other actual or potential educators of the public, thereby restricting the academic choices available to students."

Unless something is done, state institutions may push to the wall, within 20 years, half the private colleges in America.

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Common Sense on Way Back

Negroes Speak Out Against Militants

By GEORGE SCHUYLER

(George S. Schuyler, America's most outspoken Negro conservative, has been editor and reporter for Negro newspapers for half a century. Among his many books are Black and Conservative *and* Black No More. *Mr. Schuyler believes the civil rights militants have done more harm than good in recent years, pushing the races further apart in America.)*

Real Americans can give wholesome thanks that the 10-year Negro "revolution" is dead.

The sober, thinking, responsible Negroes—so long frightened into silence for fear of being denounced as Uncle Toms by the garrulous civil rights agitators—have recently spoken out about the insurrection, vandalism and guerrilla warfare that during the past summer gutted hundreds of businesses, brought out the criminal Negro element in full force, and left the streets of 50 cities littered with smashed plate glass, bodies and spent shells. It suddenly dawned on them that the better Negroes would be the real losers.

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., which has over five million members, led his group of associated preachers to denounce the Saturnalia of vandalism that culminated in the provocative talk of "Black Power." Rev. Jackson is unique in having repudiated the civil rights uproar from its beginning, and surviving an avalanche of denigration from "militants."

Perhaps we should give some thanks to Stokely Carmichael, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("Snick") who coined the "Black Power" slogan while on the mad Meredith march through Mississippi (another journey to the end of the night) when he told a mob of black yokelry in Cleveland, Miss:

"When you talk of 'Black Power,' you talk of bringing this country to its knees. When you talk of 'Black Power' you talk of destroying everything in Western civilization."

Numerous such incendiary pronouncements across the country woke up everybody, and when the whole nation became alarmed the death knell of the "revolution" was sounded. Thus awakening the people and averting disaster, Carmichael should have won the Nobel Peace Prize.

NAACP Resolution

With even the white Marxists alarmed by Carmichael's premature pitch, those blacks who had alibied every insurrection before the 1966 "long hot summer" rushed to wash their hands of "Black Power."

On October 14 a historic statement was prepared by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and broadcast from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It was signed initially by seven so-called Negro leaders in which they lengthily reaffirmed "their commitment to the attainment of racial justice through constitutional means; repudiates violence and the advocacy of violence in the pursuit of this goal; calls for the leveling of racial barriers; and asserts the continued and urgent need for black-white cooperation to secure this objective."

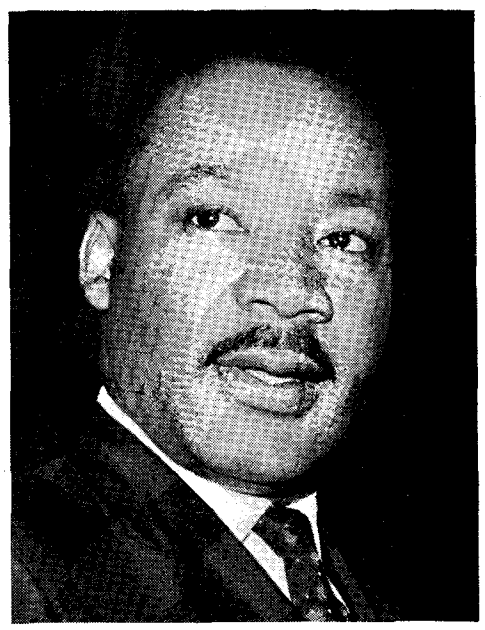
Signers were Miss Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Bayard Rustin, director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP; Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director, National Urban League; Amos T. Hall, executive secretary, Conference of Grand Masters, Prince Hall Masons of America; Hobson R. Reynolds, grand exalted ruler, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World; Frank L. Stanley, president of the National Negro Publishers Association; Lionel N. Newsom, president of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; Mrs. Vivian Beamon, The Links; Mrs. Marion E. Bryant, National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Bishop A. Gibbs, African Methodist Episcopal Church; Dr. John S. Holloman, National Medical Association; and Harold L. Pilgrim, Frontiers International. This was a *Who's Who* in colored America.

New Strategy in Order

At the same time A. Philip Randolph, speaking at the United Steel Workers convention in Atlantic City, loudly rang the bell on the insane, suicidal antics of the civil rights adolescents, the sorceror's apprentices of revolution.

He deplored "lawlessness of any kind" and warned that "the time has come when the street marches and demonstrations have about run their course. . . . The strategy now in order is to shift from the streets to the conference room for the purpose of discussion of the problems in the interest of finding an answer." This was saying a lot, coming from the "father" of the March on Washington movement.

Meeting in Chicago on November 3, some 250 Negro ministers representing



The Rev. Martin Luther King has refused to sign several statements criticizing "Black Power."

12 million Negroes unanimously adopted a manifesto repudiating the concept of "Black Power."

It said: "The 'Black Power' quest must not be condoned or followed, for it is divisive and is an expression of discrimination from the Negroes' point of view when used as a separatist movement among Negroes against white people. . . . We cannot build by destroying and we cannot win the struggle of freedom with weapons of hate and confusion." The meeting was called by Bishop Joseph Gomez of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, with attendance of ministers from 45 states. The nation had begun to think such Negroes did not exist!

Singularly enough, our loquacious, peripatetic Nobel Peace Prize winner remained unnaturally mum and signed neither statement, although he was invited to do so by both groups. Bishop Gomez says he invited Dr. Martin Luther King to the November 3 gathering, but although the Negro Mahatma was in Chicago, he did not attend. Perhaps because he was too busy leading a demonstration in front of a real estate corporation which he said was fostering slum conditions.

A fortnight previously, in Birmingham, Ala., Dr. King conceded that "rioting only intensifies the fears of the white community," which is perhaps the beginning of wisdom on his part, but only a beginning. He also demanded that Negroes should be hired first and then trained for the job.

The "revolution" has not only been eroded by the desertion of the blacks but also by erstwhile supporters among the whites.

The senseless attacks on white liberals who alone had bankrolled the civil rights movement, the racist demands for all-black leadership, and intemperate slurs against Jews cut the income of the more militant agitators.

When creditors looking for payment of nearly $200,000 from the Congress of Racial Equality met in Harlem recently and listened glumly to Floyd B. McKissick beg for a settlement of 25 cents on the dollar, all eyes were hard and dry. "Snick" is virtually destitute, and Dr. King's entourage no longer washes down filet mignon with bonded bourbon.

Even the Delta Ministry of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches (which performed such yeoman service creating disturbance in Mississippi) is crying havoc because Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, cut off the handout for the Child Development Group of Mississippi after his inspectors uncovered nepotism, payroll padding, excessive salaries and improper diversion of federal money. It was, in short, a racket of which the theme song was that old favorite, "Easy Street."

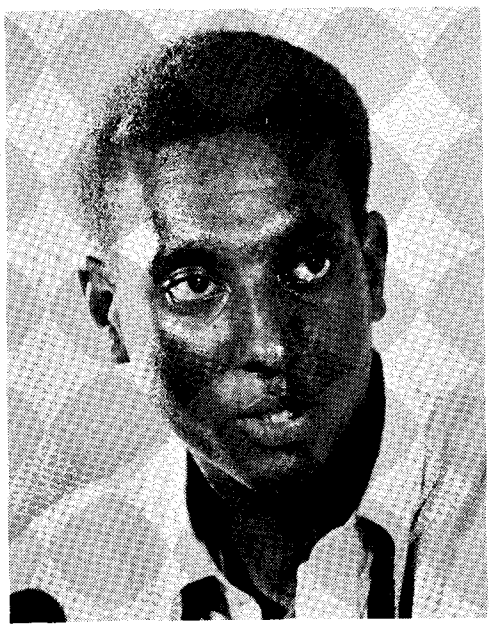
The resulting uproar from Walter Reuther's Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and from more than 70 Protestant clergymen made the welkin ring.

The NAACP was denounced because Mr. Shriver (who has become increasingly tight with handouts since the wave of graft and outlawry swept the country) had switched the Headstart money to the bi-racial Mississippi Action for Progress run by Aaron Henry of the Mississippi NAACP and the liberal editor, Hodding Carter III. Of course Henry immediately became an Uncle Tom to the embattled clergy and beneficiaries of the graft, but nothing was said about the use of Uncle Sam's money to pay "Snick" and CORE agitators.

Bureaucratic Coolness

The white chill was on when the wave of civil riots following passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill caused bureaucratic eyebrows to arch; and those who had previously condoned the uproars as due to poverty, segregation and "cultural deprivation" began to look askance.

They were tough for the Negro apologists to alibi. The first inkling that something was awry was when James Farmer, then head of CORE, aspired to a berth in the Washington bureaucracy heading a project to teach literacy to "deprived" adults. He got the nod and was all set to pick up his first



The "Black Power" cries of Stokely Carmichael have alarmed some of the staunchest civil rights advocates.

Floyd McKissick has admitted CORE is in serious financial troubles mainly because of its radicalism.

check when Sargent Shriver (and presumably President Johnson) turned thumbs down on the $1-million-a-year handout. Farmer and his associated civil rights leaders deluged the anti-poverty chief with letters and telegrams, but the job never materialized.

"Headstart" Damaging

The fiestas of graft—squandered, presumably, to keep the "culturally deprived" from bankrupting the fire and burglary insurance companies—have been progressively cut down to size.

A government study released on October 22 found that "Headstart children are more damaged by poor kindergarten teaching than their classmates who have not had the benefit of the program." Such reports augur ill for bureaucratic projects that have ceased to pay off.

When the "War on Poverty" started, it was a haven for swarms of erstwhile agitators without regular income who became annoyingly expert in obstructing traffic with prayer meetings and songfests, demanding confrontations with "Whitey" and the "power structure" and denouncing "police brutality." Government money enabled officialdom to breathe freely for a season while the boys and girls loafed and romanced at the taxpayers' expense.

Then came the nationwide vandalism and the widespread public disillusion. Without money and the taxpayers' sympathy, the professional civil rights agitators had to throw in the sponge and the "revolution" had to go. The results of the recent elections add nothing to the comfort of those civil rights sycophants who plant envy and hatred in this land of plenty and opportunity.

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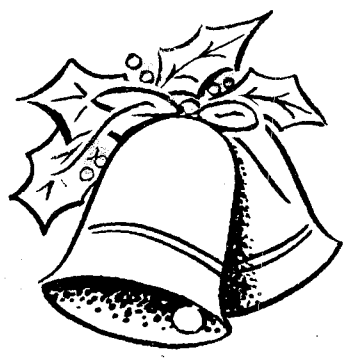

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